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OHIO

Archæological and Historical
PUBLICATIONS.

Volume XXX.



COLUMBUS:
PUBLISHED FOR THE SOCIETY
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FRED J. HEER
1921

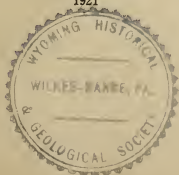


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OHIO Archaeological and Historical PUBLICATIONS

ASSASSINATION OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN

BY HONORABLE JAMES R. MORRIS.

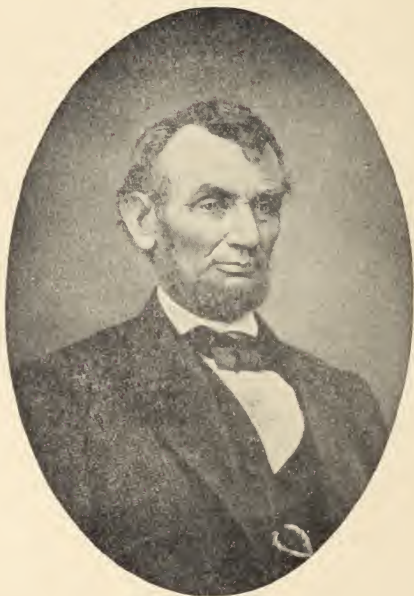
[Some years ago Judge James R. Morris, at the request of Honorable M. B. Archer, now serving his second term in the Ohio State Senate, wrote on parchment his recollections of the assassination of Abraham Lincoln. This manuscript, appropriately framed, Senator Archer later presented to the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, in whose museum and library building it is now on exhibition. It is believed that the readers of the *QUARTERLY* will be interested in the account of that tragic event from the pen of one who was an eye witness and former congressman from Ohio.—EDITOR.]

WOODSFIELD, OHIO, July 26, 1897.

HON. M. B. ARCHER — DEAR SIR: — In compliance with your request I herewith give you my personal recollections of that astounding and ever memorable tragedy, the assassination of Abraham Lincoln, — one of the most remarkable men of this, or any other age, or country — a tragedy that shocked and amazed the civilized world.

I was not, on the 14th of April, 1865, a member of Congress as you have thought. My second term, as a member of that body, expired on the fourth day of the preceding month. I had gone to Washington with a friend, Captain W. M. Kerr, on some business of his connected with his service in the army. On Friday, April 14th, we had successfully concluded the business of our trip and decided to visit Ford's theater.

We were not aware that the President was to be present. As soon as I saw the President and Mrs. Lincoln enter the box in the balcony tier, I called Captain Kerr's attention to the fact. He had never seen the President before and was, naturally, much gratified at



ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

this opportunity of seeing him. Another lady and gentleman accompanied the President, who I afterward learned were a daughter of Senator Harris, of New York, and a Major Rathbone.

Laura Keene and her company were playing "Our American Cousin," and the house was packed, as it was

her benefit night. The play had progressed for some time, the curtain had just been rolled up for another act, and almost immediately thereafter the audience were startled by the report of a fire arm. I looked up to see if I could discover from whence the sound came.

I saw the assassin, as he proved to be, in the President's box making for the front. When he had reached it he placed his hand on the banister and cried out: "*Sic semper tyrannis*," and, leaping over, alighted on the stage, bringing down with him some of the drapery surrounding the box. When he lit he sank nearly to his knees, as one naturally would in lighting on a solid floor from a height of eight or ten feet. He soon straightened up and ran diagonally across the stage and disappeared behind the wings or scenery and thus escaped.

Captain Kerr asked me: "Did you notice how deathly pale he looked?" and I answered affirmatively. When I first saw the assassin in the President's box after hearing the report of the pistol, I realized what he had done, especially so after hearing the words he uttered. I cannot describe the scene that followed. There was a dead silence for a few moments. The President fell or leaned forward, and I think his head rested on the bannister front. Mrs. Lincoln rose partly to her feet — extending her arms forward and upward, and uttering some mournful cries or words that I did not understand.

I jumped up on my chair and cried: "Hang the _____ scoundrel!" (Using some expletives not very creditable to myself.) I did not then think he had had time to make his escape, but that he could or would be arrested by some of the troupe. As I saw no one on the stage when the assassin landed on it, it is not probable that any member of the company really knew what had happened until the assassin had left the theater; and this I have since seen stated in the public prints is really the fact, although one or two of them saw him running across the stage and had heard the

shot, but did not know until too late, that the President had been assassinated.

About this time Major Rathbone, (if I have the name accurately), rose in the President's box and called out: "Is there any surgeon in the house?" Then numbers



CONGRESSMAN JAMES B. MORRIS.

were rushing for the stage — many getting upon it. Right before me was a gentleman, whom I took to be an army surgeon, and a lady. He started forward; the lady clung to his arm, exclaiming, "Oh, what will become of me!" I tried to pacify her, telling her to let the doctor go — that there was no danger now. Then

the police came rushing in and commanded all to leave the theater. I called to one of them to take charge of the lady, which he did. Two persons were hoisted over the heads of those who were on the stage into the President's box — whether the gentleman who had been seated in front of me was one of them I do not know.

The audience seemed to linger as if to learn if the President had been fatally wounded, but the police insisted on clearing the house. I went out with the crowd, but remained on the sidewalk until the President was carried down and across the street to the house where he died. I then made my way to the police office, and, being acquainted with the chief, I told him where I had been. He said: "Morris, it is reduced to a dot that the assassin is Wilkes Booth, but say nothing about it until you hear it from other sources." This was the first intimation I had who the assassin was. While in the chief's office other detectives came hurriedly in and told the chief that Secretary Seward had been assassinated. I left the chief and made my way back to the square where the tragedy occurred, but no one was permitted to pass the place.

Early next morning I went to inquire if the President still lived, and was told that he was still living but failing fast. On the early morning train my friend and I started for home, and when we reached the Relay House, nine miles from Baltimore, the train stopped and we were not permitted to leave there until 4 o'clock in the afternoon. The President had died after we left Washington and before our arrival at the Relay House.

Very Respectfully Yours,

JAS. R. MORRIS.

THE BATTLE OF PICARDY

HEROIC SERVICE OF THREE OHIO SOLDIERS

In an article of absorbing interest Frank H. Simonds in the *Review of Reviews*, for March, 1920, describes the great German offensive which began March 21, 1918. The Germans called this "the Kaiser's Battle," the English have named it the "Second Battle of the Somme," but it will probably be more generally and permanently known as the "Battle of Picardy."

In the number of men engaged and the losses it was the greatest battle in all recorded time. In fifteen days Germany poured over 1,000,000 men into this crucible of war. The English alone lost 175,000 men, "a number equal to the combined forces of Meade and Lee at Gettysburg." In the issue at stake it was pivotal and momentous. Upon the results hung the fate of Europe and the world. The British, French and German generals who led in this mighty combat had recorded their testimony and this enabled Simonds to write with added authority of "those terrible and magnificent days," which may well be characterized as "the Armageddon of history."

The German advance, which for days swept everything before it, was halted in front of Amiens, where "the last convulsions" of the gigantic struggle ended. The Germans failed to reach the channel ports or Paris—their two prime objectives. The climax of their striving and sacrifice was in vain.

After describing the prodigies of heroism and endurance exhibited by the British and the French, Simonds pays tribute to the little band of American engineers who were caught in this red whirlwind of war:

"Memorable amidst the crowd of unforgettable incidents is the exploit of Sanderman Carey, in command of a force

gathered from all ranks and conditions * * * and including a detachment belonging to that regiment of American Engineers who volunteered when Marwitz broke the British line at Cambrai in the previous year. With this 'scratch' force Carey barred the road to Amiens when it lay open to the German advance. He not only held the gate, but by a despairing counter attack actually threw the enemy back."

Only 2200 American soldiers were caught in the great German drive. They were the Twelfth Regiment of Engineers and a detachment of two companies of the Sixth Engineers. The Twelfth were at Cambrai in 1917 but it is to the detachment of the Sixth that Simonds refers especially in the above, though all were engaged at about the same place in the "Somme defensive."

Our readers will be interested to know that among these engineers were Sergeant E. Gray Swingle of Newark and Private Frank J. Goldcamp of Ironton who were among the very first of the expeditionary troops from Ohio to give their lives for the Allied cause. With them in their last hours was Corporal Carl G. Duncan, at present a student in college at Cedarville, Ohio, who lives to tell the story of their service. He has consented to do this at the special request of the Editor of the QUARTERLY and his straight-forward, modest statement is now a part of the archives of our Society with thousands of other letters and manuscripts relating to the World War. We present the following:

NARRATIVE OF CORPORAL DUNCAN

On the night of March 27, 1918, the Sixth Regiment, U. S. Engineers took over a section of the front line trenches near Hamel and Warfusee-Abancourt in the Somme district. Nearly all of the Headquarters Company and also nearly all of Company B. and Company D. took over these trenches. The rest of the regiment was still in the Marne district. It was about midnight when we reached the line.

Patrols were sent out to locate the enemy. Sergeant E. Gray Swingle of Newark, Ohio, led a patrol out about two or three o'clock, ran onto a German patrol and was shot down in the skirmish. I heard later that Corporal Sweebe who lived near Toledo, Ohio, and a Private Dennis were in Swingle's patrol. I was never able to learn

who the others were. His patrol fled and came back to our lines without him. I was told that as Swingle was leading his patrol along he heard something over to the right.

He challenged, "Who is there?"

Receiving no reply he turned to his men and said, "There's something over there and we must know what it is."

His men cautioned him but he said, "You fellows can stay here if you wish but I am going to find out what it is."

He started but was immediately shot down. His patrol came back and reported that Swingle was missing. They



SERGEANT E. GRAY SWINGLE.

seemed to have the idea that he was captured.

The next morning as soon as the fog had cleared away Captain Harris of Company B. "spotted" Swingle lying out in a wheat field in No Man's Land. He was five or six hundred yards out from our lines and apparently near the German lines. He was headed toward us and trying to crawl back but could not make any

progress. He had been shot thru both thighs. They were both broken. Captain Harris and our First Sergeant Brundage of Elmira, New York, waved to him. Swingle signaled back.

A few minutes later Sergeant Brundage came to a group of about twenty of us who were digging rifle pits near by. He told us that they had located Swingle out about fifty yards from the German lines and they wanted two big huskies to bring him in. I believe every man in the entire group volunteered. I know Goldcamp volunteered first.

Sergeant Brundage said, "Duncan, you and Goldcamp go."

We started at once. We were in our shirt sleeves, took no weapons of any kind as we intended to drag Swingle in with us. There was no mention of a stretcher, at least I did not hear it.

Three men with rifles had gone out ahead of Goldcamp and me. Private Frank J. Goldcamp was from Ironton, Ohio. If the Germans should try to capture us, the riflemen were to keep them away.

Swingle was lying on top of a slight elevation of ground. As we began to go up this slope we saw Germans over on the right digging trenches. Our riflemen stopped. Goldcamp and I began to crawl the last hundred yards or so. When we reached Swingle we were



FRANK J. GOLDCAMP.

in plain view of the Germans nearly directly off to the right, about four or five hundred yards away.

As we came close to Swingle he said, "Why didn't you bring a stretcher? How do you expect to take me in?"

Goldcamp said, "We'll get you in, Sergeant, if you can stand it."

Swingle gritted his teeth and said, "I'll stand it, you boys should never have come out after me."

Goldcamp spoke, encouraging him.

By that time we had started back with him. Goldcamp had Swingle by the left arm, I had the right, so was on the left of Goldcamp. As we slid backwards we pulled Swingle with us. His legs dangled along behind like ropes. Blood streaked the green wheat as we pulled him along. His face was ghastly white. He suffered terrible pains, but he never whimpered or gave up once.

We had taken him about ten or fifteen yards, when "zip, zip", the bullets began to come and then Swingle gave a lurch and said:

"Oh, they have us now. You boys should never have come out for me."

Goldcamp tried to comfort him, when "zip" — another bullet pierced Goldcamp's chest and hit me in the right side. Goldcamp gave a sort of choking cough "O-o-o God" as he turned over one complete turn and died.

The bullet knocked me stiff for a few seconds, and as I came to my senses the bullets were zipping over me. I began to roll back towards our lines. The bullets kept coming so I quickly decided to play "possum." I stopped dead still. The firing ceased. Swingle was lying about ten feet away, off to my left and in front of me, Goldcamp was in front of him.

Swingle asked if I were hurt badly. I told him I was hit on the right side but was not badly hurt. He called to Goldcamp several times but received no response.

The first bullet had hit Swingle and weakened him a great deal. He suffered terribly but he held up. He seemed to feel so badly about Goldcamp and me. He said, "You boys should never have come out after me."

The men with the rifles who were down below us called up and asked what had happened. I told them that Goldcamp was dead, Swingle was badly wounded and that I was slightly hurt. The riflemen said they would go back in and come out after us that night.



CORPORAL CARL G. DUNCAN.

When Swingle heard what they said, he moaned, "If they don't come before dark I will be frozen to death."

I lay there for nearly two hours before I realized that I would suffer the same fate. I decided that I would rather be shot dead than freeze to death. Then there was a chance that I might get safely back and have a stretcher sent for Swingle. I staggered to my feet and started but fainted when about two-thirds of the way in. My

brother who was in my squad and another lad came out and took me on in. Just then a Scotch Lieutenant was going out to examine us. He crawled on out and found that Swingle and Goldcamp had made the supreme sacrifice.

A MODEST STATEMENT

It will be noted that Corporal Duncan is very modest in regard to his own service. The impression left is

that he was only slightly wounded. The facts are that the bullet which crashed into his side broke two ribs and lodged in the fleshy part of his back from which it was removed. Serious complications afterward set in and he was in the hospital from the time he received the wound till January the following year when he returned to the United States and was later discharged. Swingle and Goldcamp were awarded the Distinguished Service Cross and to Wagoner Carl G. Duncan was given "the Military Medal for gallantry while on patrol March 28, 1918."

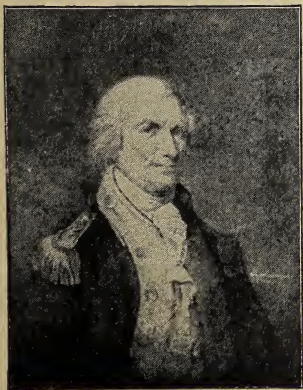
In conversation Corporal Duncan said that the Americans had too few engaged in this great battle to make their influence perceptibly felt. It is scarcely necessary to add, however, that those who were in the battle, like their fellow engineers at Cambrai the year before, showed by devotion to duty and their willingness to lay down life itself in an effort to rescue a comrade the spirit that pervaded our expeditionary forces — the spirit that later triumphed at Chateau Thierry, St. Mihiel and the Argonne.

LEGISLATURE OF THE NORTHWESTERN TERRITORY, 1795

The legislative authority in the territory of the United States northwest of the Ohio was vested in the governor and judges of that territory by the Ordinance of 1787. The minutes of the meeting of the Legislature held in Cincinnati in the summer of 1795 have been preserved in the *Centinel of the Northwestern Territory* where they were published in that year. Only one copy of the file of this paper containing these minutes is known to be in existence. It has therefore been thought that they might appropriately be reproduced in this publication.

On July 25, 1793 Governor Arthur St. Clair issued the following

“PROCLAMATION



ARTHUR ST. CLAIR.

“WHEREAS, The circumstances of the Territory — require a meeting of the Legislature at as early a period as conveniently may be, I have thought proper to issue this, my proclamation, requiring the Legislature of said Territory to meet at the town of Cincinnati, in the county of Hamilton, on the first day of September next ensuing, of which the members respectively are hereby directed to take notice, and govern themselves accordingly.

“Given under the hand and seal of the governor at Marietta, the 25th day of July, 1793.”

The "circumstances" requiring this meeting will be found fully set forth in the introductory address of Governor St. Clair at the opening of the legislative session.

The meeting, however, was deferred from time to time. A reference to it is found in a letter from St. Clair to Judge Turner, dated Marietta, December 14, 1794. At the conclusion of this communication he says:

"A session of the Legislature is called for by the people, and is indeed very necessary. Judge Symmes is not in the Territory, and you are at so great a distance that I thought it next to impossible you could attend this winter. It is my intention to call it as early in the spring as possible—about the 1st of March, I think, when I hope you may be able to attend."

Just when the latter call was issued is not so apparent. *The Centinel of the Northwestern Territory* in its issue of March 28, 1795, carries a communication signed by one "Vitruvius", which runs in part as follows:

"Do you see that the governor of this territory has issued his proclamation for the purpose of convening the *legislature*? Let us then inquire what sort of a legislature it is, which is commanded to convene. I will assert that *they are not a legislature*; for they have no opportunity to make laws, but you will see that they will assume the power. If they do, is it not reasonable to suppose that they will make such laws as will suit their own convenience,—as they seem to be 'Lords of the soil'.

"In short, Mr. Maxwell, it seems to me, that if we do not take care, we shall be imposed upon, by our farcical *aristocracy*, as well as by our miserly *whiskey drinkers*."

On the 25th of April this pioneer newspaper announces:

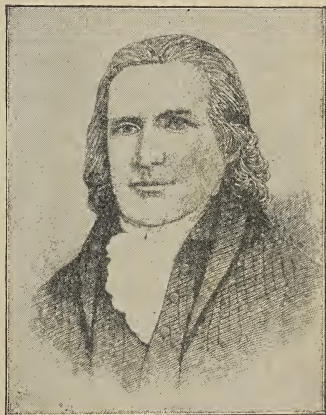
"We are happy in having it in our power to inform the public, that the Legislature of this Territory is to convene on Tuesday the 26th inst. at this place."

There were further delays, however, and we find later in the news columns the announcement "with

pleasure" of the arrival of "His Excellency Arthur St. Clair, Esquire, Governor of the Territory of the United States, northwest of the Ohio." It appears that he reached Cincinnati May 11th. On May 27th Governor St. Clair in a letter to Judge Addison states that he expects Judge Symmes to meet him in Cincinnati "in a day or two." It therefore appears that Judge Symmes arrived after the date of this letter. At all events the legislature convened in formal session on the 29th day of May, 1795.

When this session was in progress, June 17, 1795, Judge Symmes in a letter to Captain Dayton explained the difficulties encountered by these pioneer statesmen in convening at Cincinnati and the urgency that brought them together:

"I had not been long at home from Jersey before I was called up the Ohio again to attend Governor St. Clair at Marietta in the capacity of a legislator. On the 20th of February, therefore, I set out on my passage up the river, and was buffeted by high waters, drifting ice, heavy storms of wind and rain, frost and snow for twenty-three days and nights, without sleeping once in all that time in any house after leaving Columbia. I waited in vain twelve days at Marietta for the coming of the Governor, and he not appearing, I returned home.



JOHN CLEVES SYMMES.

"The Governor has since arrived at this place. About the same time, Judge Turner came up the river from Illinois, when we were able to form a house and proceed to the consideration of our laws. Their binding force was so enervated by the measures taken against them last session of Congress, that many citizens

of lawless principles now revile them, and treat them as a nullity. How far the safety and happiness of the United States were involved in the downfall of our little code of jurisprudence affecting few more citizens and scarcely more energetic than the by-laws of some country corporation—especially as they had undoubtedly been twice read and ordered by Government to be printed—I will not pretend to conjecture. I only say, sir, that I am sorry they were found so exceptionable in the eyes of Congress. We lived tolerably happy under them, and, if I am not mistaken, the happiness of the people is the object of laws. Hardly shall we be able to import and adopt a sufficient number of the laws of the original States to regulate our police before the freemen of the territory will rise in numbers to 5,000, when the Government will be new formed and the people make their own laws.”

This is the first recorded meeting of a legislative body within the present limits of Ohio and the territory northwest of the Ohio River. This legislature chose its officers and assembled in regular session until it concluded its labors and provided for the publication the laws it adopted in the *Maxwell Code*, the very first book printed in the “Northwestern Territory.”

This legislature, in the modern terminology, was unicameral; it consisted of a single body. Governor Arthur St. Clair by virtue of his office presided. Judges John Cleves Symmes and George Turner were the floor members. All told there were just enough present to conduct in a formal way the legislative proceedings; one member to make a motion, another to second it and the presiding governor to put it to a vote. The fourth member, Judge Rufus Putnam, did not attend any of the sessions.

Armistead Churchhill was chosen and commissioned as clerk of the legislature. He seems to have been the first man to hold such a position in the territory. He was the predecessor of the long line of “clerks” that followed him in the territory and the general assemblies of the states in later years carved out of it. Of Armistead Churchhill little appears to be known outside of the record of this meeting. He evidently performed satisfactorily the duties of his office which included that of

L A W S
OF THE
TERRITORY OF THE UNITED STATES
NORTH-WEST OF THE OHIO

Adopted and made by the GOVERNOUR and JUDGES, in their Legislative Capacity, at a Session begun on Friday, the xxix day of May, one thousand, eleven hundred and ninety-five, and ending on Tuesday the twenty fifth day of August following.

WITH AN
A P P E N D I X
OF
R E S O L U T I O N S
AND THE
O R D I N A N C E
FOR THE GOVERNMENT OF THE
T E R R I T O R Y .

By Authority.

C I N C I N N A T I :
PRINTED BY W. MAXWELL.

M, DCC, XCVI.

TITLE PAGE OF THE "MAXWELL CODE"

legislative assistant or draftsman, for he was frequently directed to prepare "the draft of a bill." He was evidently paid in proportion to the amount of writing he did. According to a resolution adopted June 5, 1795, the clerk of the legislature was "entitled to eight cents for every hundred words he shall write, by order of the legislature, in full compensation for all services incident to his office." This did not net him a large salary though a modern expert typist would earn very satisfactory compensation at this rate.

It will be noticed that the proceedings of the first day ended with the adoption of a resolution "that a messenger be appointed." The name of this messenger fortunately has been handed down to succeeding generations. It was Charles Avery. He was appointed June 3, 1795, and received as compensation one dollar a day. He was the official progenitor of the sergeants-at-arms, postmasters, doorkeepers, superintendents of stenographers, message clerks, pages and porters that in multitudinous array have followed in his wake. In this pioneer "messenger" were included the functions of the numerous successors who constitute an important part of the "legislative service" of today.

The compensation of the clerk and the messenger seems very modest. In proportion to population, the number of lawmakers and the purchase value of the dollar, however, the cost of conducting this legislature did not differ so widely from what is now paid for a similar service. The per capita expense was certainly greater then than it is today in Ohio.

It will be noticed that the proceedings were conducted with dignity and decorum. The sessions were open to the public. The address of Governor St. Clair, when we consider that it was delivered in the presence of a legislative body consisting of only two members beside himself, certainly rises to the dignity of the occasion. Its tone is elevated and patriotic. It reveals the things that claimed the attention of those charged with the gov-

ernment of this new territory, then the western frontier of civilization on this continent. The reply to the address of the governor presented by Judges Symmes and Turner was worthy of the men who wore the judicial ermine and exercised legislative authority in this formative period of the history of the region over which they presided.

There is no testimony at hand in regard to the particular place in which the sessions of this legislature were held. It was of course in one of the primitive structures of Cincinnati in keeping with the pioneer surroundings of that early day.

The session continued from May 29, 1795 to August 25, 1895, but no record has been found for a date later than August 15th of that year.

With this brief introduction the "minutes" are presented as they have been copied from the pages of the *Centenial of the Northwestern Territory*. Some additional related matter will be found in the brief appendix.

MINUTES OF THE LEGISLATURE

TERRITORY OF THE UNITED STATES NORTH-WEST OF THE OHIO

At a session in their legislative capacity, of the governor and judges in and over the said Territory, begun and holden at Cincinnati, in the county of Hamilton, on Friday, the twenty-ninth day of May, 1795.

PRESENT

<i>Arthur St. Clair</i> , governor and commander in chief, and	
John Cleaves Symmes	} Judges.
and	
George Turner	

Armistead Churchill, esquire, being chosen and commissioned, as clerk of the legislature, took the oath prescribed by law,

The business opened by a written speech delivered by the governor, as follows:

ADDRESS OF THE GOVERNOR TO THE LEGISLATURE.

It gives me much satisfaction, gentlemen, after so long a separation, that we are again met in our legislative capacity. The great extent of the Territory, the distance between the places of our respective residences, the difficulty of assembling at any point at a given time, while the only communication is by the river, which can not always be ascended, and often not without danger from the savages, must necessarily render our appointed meetings precarious, and will, I hope, excuse my requesting your attendance at this time, without previous notice. It was, owing to some or all of these causes that the proposed meeting in September last was frustrated. Bodily indisposition prevented me from keeping the last appointment, and the vexation that arose from a sense of the trouble I had given to one of you gentlemen, and for any thing I then knew to both, added no little to that indisposition.

It has for a long time past, gentlemen, been my anxious desire that the legislature should be convened. The circumstances of the Territory have required it in a variety of shapes. The civil and criminal codes are both incomplete; and if the community have suffered no real injury therefrom, they have at least experienced inconveniences. Other objects would also have demanded our attention at an earlier day, but opinions entertained in the legislature of the United States as to the constitutionality, and, consequently, the binding force of the territorial statutes, rendered it, in a high degree, necessary. The Ordinance for the government of the Territory, passed by the Congress in July, 1787, is unquestionably the constitution or charter of this colony. A bill, gentlemen, passed the House of Representatives in the last session of Congress, and for disapproving of all the laws that had been enacted at this place, from July to December inclusive, in the year 1792, on the ground, as I am informed, that the Governor and judges have no power, by the constitution of the government, to make laws, but only to adopt and publish such laws of the original States as should appear to them best suited to the circumstances of the inhabitants. Had that bill passed into a law, though the laws enacted within the period referred to might have been the special object, the principle would have reached to every law existing in the Territory. The Senate did not agree with the House of Representatives, and, consequently, it did not become a law; but if I am rightly informed, it was not owing to a difference in opinion, but as they considered them all *ipso facto* void, they thought it improper to declare any of them so by an act of the legislature.

It has always been my opinion, gentlemen, that whenever the laws of the Territory were considered by the legislature of the United States in a constitutional point of view, they would be annulled. And, although, I gave way to the mode that has been pursued in forming them, and have assented to many of them, it was not till after long altercation with the first judges, Mr. Parsons and Mr. Varnum, that it was gone into. I found myself, in some measure, forced to it; for I was not happy enough to be able to convince them of its impropriety, and, unless the one or the other receded, society must have been in a state of anarchy, and I preferred submitting to what my mind disapproved of rather than that the community should be in such a situation, not doubting but Congress would soon correct it.

Notwithstanding the deference, gentlemen, I had to the opinions of your predecessors, which, it was most probable, as they were men who had some eminence in the profession of the law, were more correct than mine, before I consented to the making laws, I thought it necessary, after all our conversations, to address them in writing more than once on the subject, and to put those letters on the records of the Territory as a kind of standing protest against the measure I was dragged into. As those letters were fully explanatory of my sentiments at that time, and they have not since been changed, I will take the liberty to lay before you some extracts from them, and from an address to the people on setting the government in motion:

"You will observe, gentlemen, that part of the system which has been formed for this country, and is now to take effect, is temporary only—suited to your infant situation, and to continue no longer than that state of your infancy shall last. During that period the judges, with my assistance, are to select from the laws of the mother States, such laws as may be thought proper for you. This is a very important part of our duty, and will be attended to with the greatest care."—*Address at Marietta on opening the Government, July 9th, 1788.*

"Upon the application of the *whole* of the proprietors [speaking of the Ohio Company], a law specially regulating their property, in order to rescue it from the caprice of individuals, might with propriety be made; but whether the present legislature of the Territory could be competent, may well admit of doubt. They have power to adopt laws only."—*Letter to the Judges, July 29th, 1788.*

"But you will pardon me, gentlemen, for mentioning once more, that I suspect we are overpassing the line of our duty in *forming new laws in any case*; and that, when we do so, the necessity of the case can be our only justification. The Ordinance of Congress empowers us 'to adopt such laws of the original

States, criminal and civil, as may be necessary and best suited to the circumstances of the district.' In departing from that rule, we certainly expose ourselves to censure from Congress; and besides, there may be some doubt as to the validity of such laws as are adopted and published under any other; and it may not be unworthy of your consideration whether, upon an exception being taken before you, in your judicial capacity, you would not be obliged to decide against the law, and declare it a nullity. I agreed to the militia law fully under the impression of these sentiments, because the necessity of self-defense must supersede other considerations." — *Letter to the Judges, July 30th, 1788.*

"I was in hopes that my being informed of the precise meaning you had affixed to the word *laws*, as it is used in the Ordinance of Congress, which empowers the Governor and judges to adopt such of those of the original States as may be necessary and suited to the circumstances of the district, and as it is used by you in your letter of the 31st July, would have thrown some light upon that letter, and shortened the answer I should be obliged to make to it. I must have been very unfortunate in the manner I expressed my wish to know what that meaning was, for the word in the Ordinance is clearly distinguished from the 'codes or bodies of laws' indefinitely, 'as they refer in their general nature and spirit to the vast variety of objects about which they are conversant.' I can not find how this explanation applies; I will not, however, trouble you any further about it, but proceed to reply to the letter.

"I observe you say it is one of the questions arising out of mine of the 30th, whether, in forming and transcribing laws, we should connect with general subjects all the particulars that may have relation to those general subjects. Another is, how far the particulars respecting the probate law should have influence. In forming laws upon general subjects, it may be difficult to connect all the particulars that may have relation to those general subjects. So far, however, as it is possible to recollect all the particulars, it should be done, and those particulars inserted in and become parts of the same law. And after all the attention that legislators can pay to particulars, it will be almost always found, when the laws are put in operation, that many things have been omitted and, consequently, must be supplied; and frequently (from their taking a different direction from what was intended), be explained. Forming and transcribing laws are two very different things; for transcribing laws, to give a meaning to the expression here, must be applied to some of the laws of the original States that may be thought proper to be adopted. I presume we must take them as we find them, so far as they apply to our circumstances. How far the particulars suggested respect-

ing a probate law may have influence with you, gentlemen, I know not — they have very great influence with me. There is another circumstance besides, which influences me not a little. It was hinted at only, and distantly; it may be proper to mention it expressly. When I have bound myself by law to the creation of an office, unless the powers and duties of the officer who is to fill it are detailed in the law, a difference of opinion may arise respecting those powers and duties, and I run the risk of being obliged to leave it to be guided *entirely* by the rules of the common law, supposing it to be an office known to the common law, or, by rules that I may think impose too much or too little restraint. To this risk I am not willing nor is it proper to expose myself, because I should thereby lose, in that case, the control which, I think, the Ordinance has given me in all cases. Here again I am afraid I have the misfortune to differ with your honors, for, from another part of your letter, it seems to be your opinion that when the judges agree in adopting a law it will acquire the requisite validity without the consent of the Governor. The passage in the Ordinance is in these words: ‘The Governor and judges, or a majority of them, shall adopt and publish,’ etc. It is true, the punctuation would favor the construction you seem inclined to put upon it; but I believe it is not the true sense, and that Congress intended that the assent of the Governor should be necessary to all laws adopted during this stage of the temporary government, as well as to all laws formed by the general assembly, after it shall have been organized. I presume, gentlemen, that Congress thought there would be an impropriety, at least, in leaving the *adoption* of laws by which the people of the district were to be governed for a time, solely to the persons who were to expound them. How much greater would that impropriety be, if it goes not only to the adoption, but the formation of laws. The judges would, in that case, be complete legislators, which is the very definition of tyranny; and, though that arrangement might, in your hands, gentlemen, produce no evils, no man can tell how long this stage of the government will last, or who may be your successors. Nor could it fail to produce much uneasiness in the minds of the people over whom so possibly oppressive an authority was established.

“I acknowledge, I do not perfectly understand what is meant by the ‘ties, connections, and subordinations,’ that are said to exist in colonial governments, and ‘to which laws must be applied.’ I do not take those ties, connections, etc. (whatever they may be), to be at all the object of laws. By making them the objects of law, ‘the existence of government might, indeed, be endangered.’ No law which could have a tendency to weaken or destroy the ‘ties’ connections and subordinations’ of this

district with the United States could, consistent with our duty, be either formed or adopted; and laws that might have a declared purpose to strengthen those ties would, in effect, weaken them, because they rest upon another foundation, which every such law would tend to sap. It is unsafe ground, and ought not to be traveled upon. I presume not to say what 'the powers ought to have been.' As they are, and as I understand them, they seemed calculated to answer all the purposes 'the framers of the Ordinance' could have had in view, viz.: 'to provide for the safety and happiness of the people who will remove into this country, and to protect their property until they should be sufficiently numerous to legislate for themselves, and to preserve them in a due dependence upon the general Government.' I agree with you, gentlemen, that the 'clause in question,' and every other clause in the Ordinance, should receive a liberal construction whenever they are in the least doubtful; and as it partakes of the nature of a charter, is to be expounded 'favorably to the grantees.' But it is one thing to construe a grant liberally and another to add to the grant by construction what was never in the contemplation of the grantor; and this is precisely what I think would follow should your opinion upon the clause be thought the best. That we may adopt 'laws of any of the old States,' if we think they suit our circumstances, there can be no doubt, for that is the genuine and liberal sense of the clause. That we may adopt 'such parts of any particular law as may be necessary,' is within the spirit of it. That we may make a law 'for here the word *adopt* will not serve us), consisting of 'different parts of the laws of different States, and change the diction,' I believe we have no power to do. I cannot discover the difference between this and legislating originally, which, so far from permitting us to do, in my opinion, it was the design of Congress to, prevent." — *Letter to the judges, August 1, 1788.*

As this construction, gentlemen, gives a clear, distinct and consistent sense to every part of the Ordinance, which, as has been observed, is the charter of the Territory, it is probable that it is the true construction. I shall, therefore, recommend to you again to give that instrument an attentive persual, and compare the letter and the spirit of it with the manner in which we have hitherto proceeded; and if you find any opposition or discordance between them, I am certain you will advise an immediate change of measures.

While I am on this subject, I will trouble you with one observation more, though it might, perhaps, be brought forward with more propriety as a reason for repealing a particular law. It is this, that the people are entitled to judicial proceedings, according to the course of the common law, is an express article

of compact between the original States and them. It seems to me, that, supposing the power of the Governor and judges to make laws were clear (which it certainly is not) the law prescribing the forms of writs and process has greatly narrowed the right resulting from that article, and cases will arise to which it will be found to be wholly inapplicable; and that, contrary to the spirit of the common law (which does not permit the blending of different remedies for the same wrong, or prevent a choice of the remedy where it has given more than one,) a humane creditor is, in some cases after judgment is obtained, compelled to imprison his debtor, or forever forego his remedy against him. The vast variety of writs known to the common law of England were introduced for the safety of the people, and the learned Judge Blackstone, speaking of some difficulties arising to the law student, not to the people, from that variety, breaks out into a kind of rapturous exultation: "This difficulty," says he, "however great it may appear, will shrink to nothing upon a nearer and more frequent approach. And, such as it is, it arises from the excellence of our English laws, which adapt their redress exactly to the circumstances of the injury, and do not punish one and the same action for different wrongs which are impossible to be brought within the same description, whereby every man knows what satisfaction he is entitled to expect from the courts of justice, and as little as possible is left in the breast of the judge, whom the law appoints to administer, and not to prescribe the remedy." Black. Com., Vol. 3, page 266. And, again, on the next page, he observes "that this intricacy of legal process will be found, when attentively considered, to be one of those troublesome, but not dangerous, evils which have their root in the frame of our constitution, and which, therefore, can never be cured *without hazarding every thing that is dear to us*. In absolute governments, where new arrangements of property and a gradual change of manners have destroyed the original ideas on which the laws were devised and established, the prince, by his edict, may promulge a new code, more suited to the present emergencies. A single legislator — a Solon or Lycurgus, a Justinian or a Frederick — may at any time form a concise and, perhaps, a uniform plan of justice; and *evil betide that presumptuous subject who questions its wisdom or utility*. But, who, that is acquainted with the difficulty of new modeling any branch of the statute law (though relating but to roads or parish settlements) will conceive it ever feasible to alter any fundamental point of the common law, with all its consequents and appendages?"

Whatever, gentlemen, may be your sentiments on reconsidering the subject of our legislative powers, two things are clearly with them, viz., to adopt and publish laws and to repeal

those of our own making. The first is, indisputably, given by the Constitution of the Territory, and the second by the act of the United States. That all doubts, therefore, may be removed, I would advise an immediate repeal of all the laws of the Territory, and that laws of some or all of the original States be adopted and published in their stead. In doing the last, we shall act in strict conformity to the spirit and the letter of the Ordinance; and if the laws adopted are disapproved by Congress, it can only be on the ground of the inaptitude, an objection which, it is to be hoped, they will not be open to. In doing the first, we shall exercise a power expressly conferred by law, and, therefore, not liable to censure. Neither does it appear to me, gentlemen, that there can be any inconvenience or much trouble in the business; for all the laws that are thought necessary may be agreed upon and prepared, for they will require some preparation, and their adoption go hand in hand with the repeal of the others. Another consideration, gentlemen, will certainly have some weight, as I also observed to the former judges. Exceptions to the constitutional obligation of the laws may be taken in the courts of law, and you may find yourselves obliged, as judges, to decide against laws enacted by yourselves as legislators—an embarrassing dilemma!

In this matter as in every thing else which can contribute to the safety and happiness of the people, it will ever give me pleasure to concur with you; but should it happen that on this subject our sentiments continue to differ, I will, at another time, point out to you several laws which, in my opinion, should be repealed at all events, together with my reasons for that opinion. I will trespass, gentlemen, but a moment longer on your patience, while I communicate another reason why I had much wished a meeting at an earlier point of time. It was produced by some proceedings of the judges of the County Court of Common Pleas for the county of Hamilton. The original commission to that court ran without any limitation as to its duration. The secretary of the Territory, at a time when the powers of the Governor devolved upon him, for good reasons, thought proper to issue a new commission to that court, limited expressly to continue in force during pleasure. The judges of the court had mistakenly considered the want of limitation in the original commission as rendering it equivalent to one expressly conditional to continue in force during good behavior; and that, of course, it could neither be revoked nor superseded, but in consequence of some misdemeanor legally ascertained. They refused to be sworn in under the new commission, and proceed to assemble and do business as a court under the original one. As their proceedings in that case were clearly vicious, for the new commission super-

seded the former one, and as it may be that considerable property rests upon adjudications then made by them, I should have recommended an act to render them valid. The power of granting writs of habeas corpus, which is, I believe, exclusively in the judges of the general court, has also been claimed, and in one instance, as I am informed, exercised by those judges. Although, under my present impressions, I can not now recommend, and could not consent to a law to sanction those proceedings, which must, if called in question, stand or fall upon their own merit or demerit; yet, I think there would be no impropriety in the governor and judges declaring their sense upon them both, and I am persuaded it would have the salutary effect to keep the administration of justice steady and regular, and its stream undisturbed.

ORDERED, That the foregoing speech be laid on the table, for the judges to answer.

On motion of Judge Turner, ordered,

That the doors of the house be kept open, during the session, for the admission of such citizens as may choose to hear the debates.

Resolved, That a messenger be appointed.

Adjourned to meet tomorrow at 9 o'clock, A. M.

SATURDAY, MAY 30, 1795.

Assembled, according to adjournment.

The clerk having read the minutes of yesterday (and this he was directed to do, daily) the following petitions were next read, viz.

1. A petition of Joel Williams, praying for a law to authorize him to erect and hold a public ferry, from his landing in Cincinnati, to the opposite shore of the Ohio.

2. A petition of Rebecca Kennedy, to vest in her the keeping of a similar ferry.

3. A petition of Patrick Simpson, of Vincennes, in the county of Knox; praying to be enabled, by law, to satisfy a debt, confirmed to him by a judgment there, out of the debtor's real estate, by selling a proportion thereof.

4. A petition of Daniel Symmes, sheriff of Hamilton, concerning the better regulation of the Jail, and the safe-keeping of prisoners.

5. A petition of the judges and justices of the courts of common pleas and general quarter sessions of Hamilton.

6. Another from the grand jury of that county, in general quarter sessions of the peace.

CINCINNATI,

AUGUST 22.

MINUTES of the LEGISLATURE.

Territory of the United States North-West
of the Ohio.

At a Session in their legislative capacity, of
the governor and judges in and over the
said Territory; begun and holden at Cin-
cinnati, in the county of Hamilton, on
Friday, the twenty ninth day of May, 1795.

Present,

Arthur St. Clair, governor and commander
in chief, and

John Cleves Symmes & } Judges.
George Turner, }

Armittad Churchill, esquire, being cho-
sen and commissioned, as clerk of the legisla-
ture, took the oath prescribed by law.

The business opened, by a written speech
delivered by the governor, as follows.

[The speech, and the judges' answer to it,
having already appeared in this paper,
we purposely omit here the republication
of them.]

*Ordered, that the foregoing speech be
laid on the table, for the judges to answer.

On the motion of judge Turner, ordered,

That the doors of the house be kept open,
during the session, for the admission of such
citizens as may choose to hear the debates.

Resolved, That a messenger be appoint-
ed.

Adjourned to meet tomorrow at 9 o'clock;
A. M.

Saturday, May 30, 1795.

Assembled, according to adjournment.

The clerk having read the minutes of yes-
terday (and this he was directed to do, dai-
ly) the following petitions were next read,
viz.

1. A petition of Joel Williams, praying
for a law to authorize him to erect and hold

Fac similie from *Centinel of the Northwestern
Territory.*

7. Another from a numerous body of citizens, inhabitants of the same county.

The three last petitions, prayed for certain new laws, and alterations in others.

8. A petition of Wm. Lemona, praying to be divorced from his wife.

The several petitions were ordered to lie on the table.

Judge Symmes produced copies of the domestic and foreign attachment laws of New Jersey, and moved for their adoption. Laid on the table.

Judge Turner moved to make or adopt nineteen laws to the following effect. viz.:

1. A comprehensive free-bill, repealing the present laws on that subject.

2. An attachment law.

3. A law to regulate the practice of inferior courts.

4. A law to subject real estates to the payment of debts.

5. A law to extend the jurisdiction of a single judge to 20 dollars.

6. A law abolishing imprisonment for debt; and directing proceedings, on the part of the creditor, towards the recovery of his demand, at a future day.

7. A law to alter and amend the gaming act.

8. A law for the relief of the poor.

9. A law authoriizing the courts of the common pleas, to bind out, for a reasonable term, free children born of slaves.

10. A law for erecting and establishing houses of correction in the several counties.

11. A law to alter and amend the estray act.

12. A law to authorize immediate execution, on entering up final judgment.

13. A law for the establishment of public ferries; the rates to be regulated by the respective courts of quarter-sessions.

14. A divorce law.

15. A law for the naturalization of aliens.

16. A law concerning estreats.

17. A militia law and to repeal the present one

18. A limitation law, upon the principles of a former law, since disapproved of by Congress, except as to bonds and specialties.

19. A law to abolish the districts of Kaskaskia, Prairie de Rocher and Kahokia; and to extend the jurisdiction of single courts of common pleas, general quarter-sessions of the peace and probate of the county of St. Clair, over the whole county.

ORDERED, To lie on the table.

The answer of Judges Symmes and Turner to the governor's address was presented and read.

ANSWER OF JUDGES SYMMES AND TURNER TO THE GOVERNOR'S
SPEECH, DELIVERED IN THEIR LEGISLATIVE CAPACITY.

We reciprocate with your Excellency that satisfaction which you have been pleased to express at the opportunity that now enables us to assemble in our legislative capacity; and the more so, since we are sensible of the difficulties that occasionally must occur in bringing the legislative members together at given times. Permit us to congratulate you, sir, upon seeing you again among us.

That our codes, both civil and criminal, are incomplete, and that, in consequence, the people have experienced inconvenience is unquestionable. But nothing, on our part, shall be wanting to concur with you, sir, in obviating existing defects, and making such legislative provision in the future as may be most conducive to the public weal. The opinions entertained in the legislature of the United States, as to the force of our Territorial statutes, are peculiarly entitled to consideration.

We acknowledge that the Ordinance of 1787 is the Constitution of this Territory. But doubts have arisen as to the construction of it. From these doubts, and the apparent difficulty of selecting laws from the original States suited, in all cases, to the local circumstances of the Territory, and from the words "adopted or made," as used in the Ordinance, we may infer that the principle of *enacting* grew up in preference to that of *adopting* laws. To some of us, indeed, there appeared to be in the Ordinance a degree of ambiguity that might seem to justify either the one or the other; and, though the instrument points to distinct periods of time, yet those periods do not seem to be so strongly marked or separated as not to be open to a difference of opinion.

That respect which is due to the legislature of the General Government will, however, always incline us to pay the greatest deference to its opinions. Your Excellency tells us that, for annulling certain enacting statutes of the Territory, a bill had lately passed in the House of Representatives of the United States, and was non-concurred in in the Senate, as you are informed; not from a difference of opinion, but from a persuasion that such statutes were *ipso facto* void in themselves, and, therefore, improper to be declared to be an act of that legislature.

Let us advert here to an act of Congress passed May 8, 1792; we shall there see, if not a direct, at least an implied recognition of the power to enact, as exercised by the Governor

and judges. Sec. I. "The laws of the Territory of the north-west of the River Ohio that have been or that hereafter may be enacted by the Governor, judges, etc." And again, Sec. II. "The Governor and judges of the Territory north-west of the River Ohio, shall be, and hereby are authorized, to repeal the laws *by them made*, etc."

Whether these clauses had any, and what influence towards continuing the practice of originating laws, is not for us to say, as one of us only was present at the last session. But, it may fairly be presumed, their weight would be inconsiderable.

As it seems, sir, to be your opinion that the legislature ought to confine itself to the principle of adoption alone, we are ready to meet you on that ground, in order that no impediment may lie in the way of legislative duty. There being but a bare majority of the members assembled, unanimity now becomes indispensable. Without this, our legal code, by far too inadequate, at present, to answer the ends of good government, would remain as it is, and our meeting prove nugatory.

It is true, however, and we mention it with regret, that there are some laws of which the Territory is in great need, but which, from locality, we despair of finding among those of the original States. The chasm in this case can only be supplied by the authority of Congress, expressly extended to us by statute. But, whether that honorable body, whose legislative functions are of a general nature, would think it proper to interfere in this respect, is a question that belongs not to us to determine.

In one of the quotations from your correspondence with the former judges, and with which you have favored us in your speech, it seems that a difference of opinion existed as to a *negative* on the laws then claimed by the Governor. You have said, "there would be an impropriety, at least, in leaving the adoption of laws by which the people of the district were to be governed for a time, solely to the persons who were to expound them."

We grant the *impropriety*. The time when the Ordinance was framed, the *temporary* government which it had for its object, and the early existing circumstances of this country, must plead its apology. But, we would submit to your Excellency whether this impropriety could either be lessened or removed by leaving to the Governor a negative on laws to be adopted by a legislative body, never composed of more than four and generally of but three members, when *he* has a right to sit as one, and as one to debate and vote on those laws in common with the rest?

What does the Constitution say? "The Governor and judges, *or a majority of them*, shall adopt and publish," etc. Words, we presume can not be stronger, let punctuation be what it will.

To us, they convey a prompt, a decisive meaning, namely, that the three judges may assemble in the Governor's absence and adopt laws at discretion. Besides, sir, the word *negative* is not to be found throughout the Constitution or Ordinance, so far as it regards the present government.

Painful as it is for us to differ, in any instance, with your Excellency, yet the subject in question being now before the public, public duty (and, we dare say, your own wish) requires that our opinions should not be suppressed.

We will recollect, sir, that when we first had the honor to meet you at this place in our legislative capacity, you expressed doubts of our constitutional power to *make* laws. We remember, too, that the best consideration we could then give the Ordinance inclined us to believe that the powers either to *adopt* or *make* laws were optional as to the legislators. If our construction of the Ordinance be in this respect faulty, it must have arisen from that seeming ambiguity we have already noticed.

We agree that "the power of the Governor and judges to repeal laws *by them made*," is not to be found in the Ordinance. It was superadded, as you have observed, by a law of the United States. Nor do we hesitate to declare with you, sir, that it would be "too broad an inference" to draw from the words "*by them made*" — an implication that might contradict either the spirit or the letter of the Ordinance. *Enacted* would be a much stronger word; it is a word of unequivocal purport, and may be found, as we have already shown, in the preceding section of the same act. We do not, however, mean to say how far the fundamental principles of a compact between the people and the government can be affected by subsequent acts not sanctioned by the consent of the former.

Cordially we unite with your Excellency in expressing our disapprobation of that law where a form of process is established that would *compel* a humane creditor to imprison the body of his debtor. The form, though borrowed from the Massachusetts code, is not, in our opinion, congenial to the mild genius of the common law; and, therefore, we shall cheerfully concur with you in the repeal of that part, or the whole of the law, should it be found needful.

Pursuant to your recommendation, we shall join you in taking into serious deliberation the proposed repeal of the present laws.

In all matters that may promote the safety and happiness of the people, the judges will ever be forward to concur with the Governor; and on this foundation we earnestly embrace your proposition.

With you, sir, we regret that we could not convene before the present moment, especially as a legal question may arise how far the proceedings of a subordinate court have, in the instance to which you allude, been conformable to the limits of their power.

No county court, nor judge of a county court, can issue a *habeas corpus*; that writ lies from a superior power alone. But we are sorry in not being equally fortunate to form a concurrence of opinion with your own upon the other case stated respecting the same judges. It has been our uniform sentiments that no judge of a court of record ought to hold his commission *during pleasure*; for that would sap the independence of the bench by making him the creature of the Executive. It would not accord with the Constitution of the United States; nor, we believe, with the Constitutions generally of the individual States. It would be at variance with the genius of our laws and the protection of person and property; upon which life and liberty greatly depend. We are persuaded your Excellency's ideas will, in the end, meet ours in this respect.

As we shall now cease to trespass further on your patience accept, again, sir, our professions of readiness to unite, at all times and on all occasions, in laboring for the common weal by transfusing into the public mind those wholesome rules which, while they discourage vice, promote virtue, protect the weak against lawless force, and deny liberty to none but those who shall justly forfeit it by their crimes and the laws of the land. Such, we trust, will ever be the objects of a legislative body convened for the purpose of providing useful laws.

JOHN CLEVES SYMMES,
G. TURNER.

Judge Turner then gave notice if the house should deem itself competent to the purpose, he would, at a future day, move for the impeachment of Henry Vanderburgh, judge of probate in the county of Knox, for high misdemeanors by him committed.

Adjournment to meet on Monday at 9 o'clock, A. M.

MONDAY, JUNE 1.

Assembled according to adjournment.

The Governor proposed, for adoption, an act of Pennsylvania, entitled, "an act for taking lands in execution for the payment of debts." It was adopted, under the title of "a law subjecting real estate to execution for debt."

ORDERED, That, in the the present case, and on every future adoption of laws, the clerk do conform the bill to existing local-

ities of the Territory, without otherwise affecting the spirit of the laws so adopted: and that he drop all preambles and unnecessary or tautological phrases and words.

Judge Turner moved for the repeal of that part of a law of the Territory, which imposes a tax on merchants and traders.

The motion was laid on the table.

On motion of the Governor, it was agreed to adopt, as laws, the first enacting clause of an act of Pennsylvania entitled, "an act about attachments;" beginning at the words, "*that the justices*" and thence to the end of the clause: also, that part of another act from the same code, entitled, "an act regulating attachments"; beginning with the first clause at the words, "*that if any person,*" and ending with the termination of the sixth enacting clause—the latter law to be entitled "a law regulating domestic attachments."

Moved, by Judge Turner,

That all laws and parts of laws, which impose forfeitures of estate for crimes be repealed.

ORDERED, To lie on the table.

Adjourned to meet tomorrow, nine o'clock, A. M.

TUESDAY, JUNE 2.

Assembled according to adjournment.

The several petitions for extending the jurisdiction of a single magistrate, were made the order of the day for tomorrow.

Charles Avery was appointed messenger, and allowed a dollar per diem during the session.

Adjourned to meet tomorrow, at nine o'clock, A. M.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 3.

Assembled according to adjournment.

Moved by the Governor that so much of an act of Pennsylvania as is suited to the localities of the Territory entitled, "an act establishing courts of judicature," be adopted as a law: and that the Territorial laws, first for establishing courts of general quarter sessions of the peace; secondly for fixing the terms of the general court; and thirdly, for altering the terms thereof, be repealed.

The motion being reduced to writing, was ordered to lie on the table.

Proceeded to the order of the day, and extend the jurisdiction of a single magistrate, by adopting and incorporating into one law, certain parts of two acts in the Pennsylvania code; one being "an act for the better determining of debts and demands

under forty shillings, &c., the other, "an act for the easy and speedy recovery of small debts."

The Governor moved for the repeal of two Territorial laws entitled "an act prohibiting the sale of spirituous and other intoxicating liquors to soldiers," &c. and "an act to prohibit the giving or selling intoxicating liquors to Indians," &c.

The motion was agreed to.

On motion of Judge Turner,

Resolved, That the governour be requested to forward a representation to Congress, expressive of the increasing value of the reserved public sections of land, some of which could now be rented for valuable considerations, to the furtherance of religion and education.

On motion of the governour,

It was agreed to adopt an act from the Pennsylvania code entitled, "an act for defalcation." The clerk was directed to prepare an engrossed bill under the title of "a law concerning defalcation."

The consideration of the Pennsylvania law entitled "an act for establishing courts of judicature" and of the proposed repeal of certain Territorial statutes, as moved by the Governor this morning, was made the order of the day for tomorrow.

Adjourned to meet tomorrow at nine o'clock A. M.

THURSDAY, JUNE 4.

Assembled agreeable to adjournment and proceeded to the order of the day.

ORDERED, That the clerk do immediately prepare the draft of a bill, founded on the "act for establishing courts of judicature" — paying due regard to its application to the local circumstances of the Territory.

Adjourned to meet tomorrow at nine o'clock A. M.

FRIDAY, JUNE 5.

Assembled accordingly.

The Governor proposed for adoption from the Pennsylvania code, "an act for the trial and punishment of larceny, under 5s."

The same being agreed to, the clerk was directed to engross a bill thereof, adding after the words, "five shillings," the words, equal to 150 cents.

Agreed to adopt as a law from the same code, "an act to prevent inconveniences arising from delays of causes after issue joined." The clerk was ordered to engross a bill for the purpose,

under the title of "a law to prevent unnecessary delays in causes, after issue joined."

"An act for the limitation of actions" taken from the same code, was next proposed by the Governor for adoption.

Ordered that the clerk do accordingly prepare a bill for consideration tomorrow.

On motion of Judge Turner.

Resolved, That the clerk of the Legislature be entitled to 8 cents for every hundred words he shall write, by order of the Legislature, in full compensation for all services and expenses incident to his office.

Adjourned till tomorrow, at nine o'clock A. M.

SATURDAY, JUNE 6.

Assembled agreeable to adjournment.

A bill founded on the act of Pennsylvania entituled, "an act for establishing courts of Judicature," being read and discussed paragraph by paragraph was adopted as a law of this Territory — with addition to sections 2d and 6th of an act in the same code, entituled "an act to amend the act entituled" "an act for establishing courts of Judicature."

On motion of Judge Symmes.

Adjournment to meet on Wednesday at nine o'clock A. M.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 10.

Assembled accordingly.

The bill for the 'limitation of actions' was produced, read, discussed, paragraph by paragraph, and adopted as a law. The clerk was ordered to engross it.

Read an act from the Pennsylvania code entituled, "an act for the relief of such persons, as conscientiously scruple the taking of an oath in the common form"; agreed to adopt the same, beginning at the words, "all and all manner of crimes," in the first enacting clause, and continuing to the words in the same clause. "either by taking;" and instead thereof, substituting these words; viz., those of the people called Quakers, by taking the solemn affirmation, and those of the Persuasions who swear with uplifted hand or hands, by taking an oath, in the following words, also after the word "oath" in the last clause, shall be added these words; directed by an act of the United States, entituled, "an act prescribing the time and manner of administering certain oaths," and the oath of office.

The clerk was ordered to prepare an engrossed bill accordingly.

An act of Pennsylvania, entitled, "an act for the better recovery of fines and forfeitures due to the Governor and government of this province was proposed for adoption, and a bill thereof ordered to be drafted for consideration.

Adjourned to meet again tomorrow, at nine o'clock A. M.

THURSDAY, JUNE 11.

Assembled accordingly.

The Governor proposed for adoption, in part, or in whole, according to local circumstances, the following laws of Pennsylvania.

1. "An act for the acknowledging and recording of deeds."
2. A supplement to the act, entitled, "an act for acknowledging and recording of deeds." — and
3. An act for bailing of prisoners, and about imprisonment."

Copies of the foregoing acts were directed to be made, for farther consideration.

Read and examined two engrossed bills, one entitled, "a law for the relief of persons conscientiously scrupulous to take an oath, in the common form;" the other, "a law for the recovery of fines and forfeitures, & directing how the same are to be estreated." They were declared to be laws, accordingly.

On motion of Judge Turner,

Resolved, That the Governor be requested to make application to the general government for public seals for the recorder's offices, and the orphans' courts to be established this sessions.

Adjourned till tomorrow 9 o'clock, A. M.

FRIDAY, JUNE 12.

Assembled according to adjournment.

Judge Turner produced a letter from the secretary, enclosing a demand against the Territory, for ——— dollars on account of certified copies of Territorial laws, furnished by him, the secretary, to certain public officers.

Laid on the table.

Read from the New York code, "an act for regulating the fees of the several officers and ministers of the courts of justice."

Ordered that the clerk cause a bill, founded on the above act, to be engrossed; beginning at the clause which relates to the fees of the supreme court.

Read an act of Pennsylvania, entitled, "an act for the better confirmation of the estates of persons, holding or claiming under feme coverts, and for establishing a mode by which husband and wife may, hereafter, convey their estates."

A bill thereof was ordered to be drafted for consideration.

The consideration of the following acts of Pennsylvania was made the order of the day for tomorrow; viz., "an act for raising of county rates and levies," and "a supplementary act to the act for raising county rates and levies."

ORDERED, That the clerk notify the secretary by letter, that the legislature will have occasion, tomorrow morning, at 10 o'clock to examine before them the public records filed in his office.

Adjourned till tomorrow, 9 o'clock, A. M.

SATURDAY, JUNE 13.

Assembled according to adjournment.

The secretary of the Territory produced the records agreeably to the notification of yesterday: — and certain parts thereof were examined: whereupon,

On motion of Judge Turner,

Resolved, That the governor make application to the proper authority in the United States, for a resolution or law of Congress, that shall authorize the printing of 200 impressions of the ordinance of congress, passed the 13th of July, 1787 for the government of this territory; of such laws of the United States as are extended to the territory, and all treaties affecting the same; together with the proclamations, ordinances, and notifications subjoined. And that all similar papers and acts may, from time to time, be added to the copies of the territorial laws, to be hereafter printed in virtue of the act of Congress passed in 1792:

1. The governor's ordinance, erecting the county of Washington, dated July 27th, 1788.

2. His ordinance creating the county of Hamilton, January 4, 1790.

3. His proclamation, concerning lands at the Illinois, March 7, 1790.

4. Another, respecting lands there, claimed by the seminary of Quebec, dated April 22, 90.

5. His ordinance erecting the county of St. Clair, April 27, 1790.

6. His order, forbidding foreigners to commit waste on the lands of the territory, dated, May 10, 1790.

7. His order forbidding foreigners from hunting within the same; the like date.

8. The secretary's ordinance erecting the county of Knox, June 20, 1790.

9. His ordinance towards the preservation of the game therein, June 28th, 1790.

10. His ordinance extending the county of Hamilton, February 11, 1792.

11. His notification against committing waste on the public or reserved sections of land, June 18, 1793.

12. The governour's proclamation enjoining neutrality with friendly powers &c., Dec. 7, 1793.

Two acts of Pennsylvania for raising county rates and levies (being the order of the day) were read; and postponed for farther consideration;—and

The act of Pennsylvania, for "acknowledging and recording of deeds" and an act supplementary thereto, were made the order of the day for Monday next.

Adjourned to meet on Monday at 9 o'clock A. M.

The list of the laws, should have appeared in our last, according to promise—but was not handed to the press, until last evening, which also, prevents its appearance this week; but shall certainly appear in our next.

MONDAY, JUNE 15.

Assembled accordingly.

The order of the day being postponed, the house proceeded to the consideration of the act of New York for regulating the fees of the several officers and members of the courts of justice, passed in 1785. Having made some progress therein, the house adjourned to meet again tomorrow 9 o'clock, A. M.

TUESDAY, JUNE 16.

Assembled agreeably to adjournment.

Resumed the subject of the fee bill:—

Resolved, That the same be adopted, as a law regulating and ascertaining the fees of the officers and persons therein named, under the modifications agreed on, as locally applying, and incorporating therewith a part of an act of Pennsylvania, called "an act for regulating and establishing fees".

Two acts of Pennsylvania, were next offered for adoption, viz. "An act for the better settling of intestates' estates," and "an act for establishing orphans' courts."

Resolved, That they be adopted; beginning at the first enacting clause of the act first mentioned, and continuing to the end of the 7th clause thereof; and beginning with the first clause of the other, and ending with the 15th clause.

Took up two other acts of the same state, being an act and a supplement thereto, concerning the recording of deeds. Postponed for further consideration.

Resolved, That the messenger do require the commissioners who have granted licenses to tavern keepers, retailers, &c., in

Cincinnati to appear before the legislature tomorrow morning, and produce statements of the licenses by them granted.

The order of the day being called for, some progress, but no decision, was made thereon.

Adjourned to meet tomorrow at nine o'clock, A. M.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 17.

Assembled according to adjournment.

The commissioners for granting licenses attended, and having produced their statements, the same were perused and filed.

Whereupon, the following resolution was moved for by Judge Turner, and ordered to be entered on the minutes:—

Resolved, That a number of taverns, inns and tippling-houses at present in the town of Cincinnati, are nuisances injurious to the morals of the people, and contrary to the spirit of legal regulations; which could not be intended to countenance any abuse.—

Resolved, therefore, That the clerk do cause the above resolution to be published in the *Centinel of the North-Western Territory*.

The Governor then proposed for adoption, two laws of Pennsylvania, viz.: "An act that no public house or inn be kept without license" and an act supplementary thereto.

Both were accordingly adopted, into one law, by the title of "a law to license and regulate taverns."

Read the following petitions, viz.:

1. Read a petition from Martha, the wife of Wm. Lemond, stating many abuses alleged to have been imposed on her by the husband—and praying relief.

2. A petition from Samuel Freeman, praying authority to keep a public ferry at Cincinnati.

These petitions were laid on the table.

Read from the Pennsylvanian code, at the instance of the Governour, "an act for bailing of prisoners, and about imprisonment."

ORDERED, That it lie on the table for future consideration.

The acts concerning the acknowledging and recording of deeds were again taken up, but no decision was had thereon.

Adjourned to meet tomorrow at 9 o'clock, A. M.

THURSDAY, JUNE 18.

Assembled accordingly.

And resumed the consideration of the acts respecting the acknowledging and recording of deeds. The same were adopted into one law, omitting various clauses in both, under the title of "a law establishing the Recorder's Office."

The Pennsylvanian acts for raising county rates and levies, the order of the day on Saturday last, were again taken up and discussed; but no resolution was had thereon.

Adjourned till tomorrow, 9 o'clock, A. M.

FRIDAY, JUNE 19.

Assembled according to adjournment.

ORDERED, That the clerk prepare bills founded on the Pennsylvanian act for raising county rates and levies, and the act for the relief of the poor, beginning at the 5th, and ending with the 11th clause of the former; and of the latter ending with the 33d clause, with certain omissions. The same were declared to be so adopted as laws of this Territory.

"An act concerning the probate of written and nuncupative wills, and confirming devises of land," was next adopted from the same code, by the title of "a law concerning the probate of wills, written or nuncupative"; beginning at the first, omitting the 6th and ending with the 7th clause thereof.

On motion of Judge Symmes,

Adjourned to meet on Wednesday next at 10 o'clock A. M.

WEDNESDAY, JUNE 24.

Assembled according to adjournment: but a quorum not appearing, adjourned till tomorrow, 9 o'clock A. M.

THURSDAY, JUNE 25.

Read a petition from Eleanor, widow of the late Captain Andrew Heth, praying for an exclusive right to keep a public ferry at Clarksville, on the Ohio, in the county of Knox.

Laid on the table.

Read, and laid on the table; an estimate of incidental expenses for the county of Hamilton, between November last and November ensuing, amounting to 100 dollars: communicated from the quarter-sessions according to law.

An act of Pennsylvania, "for regulating and maintaining of fences," was read, discussed and adopted under the title of "a law regulating enclosures."

ORDERED, That the clerk prepare a bill, founded on a law of Pennsylvania entitled, "an act directing the order of payment of debts of persons deceased:" and that the same be laid before the house tomorrow.

Received an account from John S. Gano & Co. for two folio bound blank books, intended for the use of the General Court, amounting to forty dollars. The same was allowed and filed.

Read, the law of Pennsylvania, entitled, "an act concerning cattle, horses and sheep trespassing within this province".

ORDERED, That the clerk prepare and found a bill thereon.
Adjourned to meet tomorrow, 9 o'clock, A. M.

FRIDAY, JUNE 26.

Assembled accordingly.

Examined and discussed two bills, founded on the Pennsylvanian act, "directing the order of payment of debts" and the "the act concerning cattle, horses and sheep trespassing." &c.

Resolved, That the same are adopted as laws the latter to be under the title of "a law concerning trespassing animals."

Proceeded to the discussion of another law of that state, viz.: "An act for the better confirmation of the estates of persons holding or claiming under feme coverts, and for establishing a mode by which husband and wife may hereafter convey their estates."

Resolved, That the same be adopted, (beginning at the second enacting clause) under the title of "a law directing how husband and wife may convey their estates."

Adjourned till tomorrow 9 o'clock, A. M.

SATURDAY, JUNE 27.

Assembled according to adjournment.

Resumed the discussion of the act concerning county rates and levies; and referred it for further consideration.

On motion of Judge Symmes,

Adjourned to meet on Monday, July 6th at 9 o'clock A. M.

MONDAY, JULY 6.

Assembled according to adjournment; but, a quorum not appearing, adjourned from day to day, till

TUESDAY, JULY 14.

Then assembled according to adjournment.

Judge Turner proposed 23 certain laws for adoption, in part or in whole, as should appear to be requisite. — they were taken into consideration, and the following adopted from the Massachusetts code, viz.:

1. A law for the speedy assignment of dower: leaving out the forms of process, and omitting the word "strip" wherever it occurs in the original law.

2. A law giving remedies in equity in certain cases; to conclude at the words "equity and good conscience".

3. A law against forcible entry and detainer. The word *proceedings*, to be substituted for "doings," and "quorum unus" to be omitted throughout.

4. A law annulling the distinction between petit treason and murder — and

5. A law declaring what laws shall be in force; taken from the Virginian code.

ORDERED, That the clerk prepare engrossed bills accordingly.

The Governor brought forward, from the Pennsylvanian code "a law to restrain trespassers from cutting down timber trees." The same was adopted under the title of "a law to prevent trespassing by cutting of timber" — with the following modifications, viz.: After the words "black walnut," insert, *wild-cherry, blue-ash, or poplar tree*; and proceed to read, "he shall forfeit to the owner thereof *"eight dollars,"* and for every other tree *"three dollars."*

Ordered to be engrossed accordingly.

Read, and laid on the table, a petition from Mary Starkey, an imprisoned debtor, praying for relief.

ORDERED, That an act be immediately engrossed, and entitled "an act repealing certain laws and acts, and parts of laws and acts."

At the instance of the house, William Maxwell, of Cincinnati, preferred his proposals for printing a correct edition of the laws, in quarto. He exhibited an estimate of the expense for 500 copies, amounting, at the rate of 250 cents per half sheet, to 226 dollars, 125 whereof being charged for setting up the types. — Whereupon

Resolved, That the said William Maxwell, is hereby authorized to print and publish 1000 copies of the laws of the present session, letter for letter with the original records; and that the legislature will take 200 copies thereof after the rate above mentioned, and allowing the printer the proportion of one-fifth part of the aforesaid sum of 125 dollars.

Adjourned to meet tomorrow morning at 9 o'clock.

WEDNESDAY, JULY 15.

Assembled according to adjournment, and, resuming the consideration of the laws proposed yesterday, the following were declared to be adopted:

1. A law respecting Divorce: extracted from the Massachusetts code.

2. A law for the partition of Lands; taken from the New York code, omitting the clauses 2, 11, 12, 13, and 14.

3. A law allowing foreign attachments taken from the N. Jersey code.

Bills were accordingly, directed to be engrossed.

Adjourned to meet tomorrow 9 o'clock A. M.

THURSDAY, JULY 16.

Assembled pursuant to adjournment and resumed the consideration of the remaining laws proposed on Tuesday. The following were in consequence adopted, viz.:

1. A law concerning the duty and power of coroners; taken from the Massachusetts code.

2. A law for continuing suits in the General and Circuit courts; extracted from the Virginian code.

3. A law to suppress gaming; from the same code.

The clerk was directed to engross bills thereof.

Adjourned till tomorrow morning at 9 o'clock.

FRIDAY, JULY 17.

Assembled accordingly.

The Governor proposed, for adoption, from the Pennsylvanian code "an act for the sale of goods distrained for rent." &c.

The same was adopted, under certain modifications and entitled "a law as to proceedings in Ejectment, Distress for rent and tenants at will holding over."

Examined engrossed bills.

Adjourned to meet tomorrow morning 9 o'clock.

SATURDAY, JULY 18.

Assembled accordingly; resumed the examination of engrossed bills, and adjourned to meet on Monday at half an hour past 8 o'clock A. M.

MONDAY, JULY 20.

Assembled according to adjournment.

Resolved, That the county treasurer of Hamilton be notified by the clerk to render his accounts, for the inspection of the legislature as required by law.

Read a petition from George Gordon, coroner of Hamilton, accompanied with sundry accounts, for monies disbursed by him, in the execution of his office, or for which he is liable, amounting to 115 dollars, 48 cents: whereupon the following resolution was had, viz.:

By the Governor and Judges, in their Legislative capacity,

Resolved, That the treasurer of the county of Hamilton do pay, and he is hereby authorized to pay to George Gordon, Esq., coroner of the said county of Hamilton, above mentioned, the sum of 115 dollars and 48 cents: for which a transcript of this resolution, attested by the Governor, shall be a sufficient warrant.

Adjourned to meet tomorrow morning, at half past 8 o'clock.

TUESDAY, JULY 21.

Assembled accordingly, and resumed the examination of engrossed bills.

On motion of Judge Turner,

Adjourned to meet on Thursday morning, at the same hour.

THURSDAY, JULY 23.

Assembled accordingly, and proceeded to the examination of engrossed bills.

On motion of Judge Symmes,

Adjourned till half past 8 in the morning of

WEDNESDAY, JULY 29.

Assembled; but there not being a quorum, adjourned from day to day till

FRIDAY, JULY 31.

Then assembled, and resumed the examination of engrossed bills.

ORDERED, That a fair and accurate copy of the laws, adopted during the present session, be made for the use of the Press.

Ezra Fitz-Freeman having signified his inclination to take upon him this business, and to wait for compensation till the treasury can discharge the same.

Resolved, That Mr. Freeman, is accordingly appointed.

Adjourned to meet tomorrow morning at half an hour past 8 o'clock.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 1.

Assembled accordingly, when the following petitions were received and read.

1. The petition of Darius Curtis Orcutt, for leave to keep a public ferry on the Great Miami, where the public road from Cincinnati to Greenville crosses the said river.

2. The petition of Andrew Christie, for leave to keep a ferry at the same place.

3. The petition of Stephen Cisna, an imprisoned debtor, stating his insolvency, and praying relief.

Ordered to lie on the table.

Stephen Wood, treasurer of Hamilton, presented his public accounts for inspection.

ORDERED, That the said treasurer have leave to withdraw his books to give them a more official form; and that he produce, during this session, a true and certified copy of the entries, under the modification required, to be placed on the clerk's files.

Resumed the examination of engrossed bills.

Adjourned to meet on Monday, at half an hour past 8 A. M.

MONDAY, AUGUST 3.

Assembled accordingly.

Received and read an account from Wm. Maxwell for printing and advertising at different times, the Governor's proclamations, amounting to 31 dollars.

Laid on the table.

Resumed the examination of engrossed bills.

Adjourned to meet at the usual hour tomorrow.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 4.

Assembled accordingly and proceeded to the examination of engrossed bills.

Adjourned to meet tomorrow at the usual hour tomorrow.

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 5.

Assembled at the appointed time, and took up engrossed bills for examination.

The Territorial seal and the signatures of the Governor and judges were set to the law subjecting real estate to execution for debt;

The law allowing Domestic Attachments, and

The law further regulating Domestic Attachments;

To take effect on and from the 15th instant.

Adjourned to meet tomorrow, at 9 o'clock, A. M.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 6.

Assembled at the hour appointed.

The treasurer of Hamilton attended with his public accounts. Some of the vouchers (among other things) appearing to be insufficient.

Resolved, That the treasurer have leave to withdraw his accounts and vouchers, to amend and perfect the same.

It appearing, also, that certain monies had been paid from the county treasury, on orders not warranted by law, such as mileage for constables, &c.

Resolved, That such charges cannot be allowed.

Examined some engrossed bills, and adjourned to meet tomorrow morning at 9 o'clock.

FRIDAY, AUGUST 7.

Assembled accordingly, and re-examined certain engrossed bills.

On motion of Judge Turner,

Resolved, That the Minutes of the Legislature, together with the accounts of the public treasurers, be published, as exhibited from time to time, by any printer willing to print and publish the same for his own emolument, but at his own expense.

The treasurer of Hamilton again produced his accounts, together with certain vouchers of disbursements, now perfected, that were, yesterday, deficient to the amount of 1024 dollars and 40 cents. The account now stands, in the aggregate, thus:

Dr.....The County of Hamilton

To disbursements on sundry orders.....	2,049:3
To commissions on 2,527:65 2-3 at 5 per cent	126:7
	<hr/>
	2,175:10
Cr. By vallance remaining in the treasury..	392:39 2-3
	<hr/>
	Dollars 2,567:49 2-3
Cr.....The County of Hamilton by receipts from sundry officers	2,527:65 2-3

Resolved, That the above balance of 392 dollars and 39 2-3 cents remains due partly to the Territory, and partly to the county of Hamilton; and that the treasurer's statement, as now rendered, and placed upon the files, be, and the same hereby is allowed.

Adjourned to meet in the afternoon at four o'clock.

Assembled accordingly.

Sealed & signed 19 engrossed bills, and declared the same to be laws of the Territory; to take effect at the respective periods therein mentioned, viz:

1. The law concerning defalcation.
2. The law for the trial and punishment of larceny, under a dollar and a half.
3. The law to prevent unnecessary delays in causes, after issue joined.
4. The law establishing courts of judicature.
5. The law for the limitation of actions.

6. The law for the relief of persons conscientiously scrupulous to take an oath, in the common form.

7. The law for the recovery of fines and forfeitures; and directing how the same are to be estreated.

8. The law ascertaining and regulating the fees of the several officers and persons therein named.

9. The law for the settlement of intestates' estates.

10. The law establishing orphans' courts.

11. The law to license and regulate taverns.

12. The law establishing the recorder's office.

13. The law for raising county rates and levies.

14. The law for the relief of the poor.

15. The law concerning the probate of wills written or nuncupative.

16. The law regulating enclosures.

17. The law as to the order of paying debts of persons deceased.

18. The law to suppress gaming.

19. The law for the partition of lands.

Adjourned to meet tomorrow morning at 9 o'clock.

SATURDAY, AUGUST 8.

Assembled accordingly, examined bills, and adjourned to meet in the afternoon.

Met in consequence, and resumed the examination of the bills.

Adjourned till Monday morning, 9 o'clock.

MONDAY, AUGUST 10.

Assembled according to adjournment.

Read and laid on the table for further consideration, certain bills, framed on the Pennsylvanian code.

Adjourned to meet tomorrow at 9 o'clock, A. M.

TUESDAY, AUGUST 11.

Signed the following, sealed bills, the 1st, 3d, 4th, and 6th to take effect as laws on and from the 1st of October next; the 2d and 5th on and from the 15th instant.

1. The law concerning trespassing animals;

2. The law directing how husband and wife may convey their estates;

3. The law for the speedy assignment of dower.

4. The law giving remedies in equity.

5. The law concerning forcible entry and detainer;—and

6. The law annulling the distinction between petit treason and murder.

Proceeding to the examination of engrossed bills, certain alterations were agreed upon, which the clerk was directed to make by tomorrow.

Adjourned till 9 o'clock, A. M. of

WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12.

Judge Symmes produced the draught of a bill for limiting imprisonment for debt, and subjecting certain debtors and delinquents to servitude — Discussed and a copy ordered to be engrossed.

"The law limiting imprisonment for debt and subjecting certain debtors and delinquents to servitude."

Adjourned to meet tomorrow morning at 9 o'clock.

THURSDAY, AUGUST 13.

Assembled accordingly.

Resolved, As the sense of this legislative body, that public convenience requires that the governor should cause public ferries to be established. And whereas no law, concerning ferries — can be found for adoption, but such as are of a local, not general nature; & it being essentially requisite, that ferries should immediately be established throughout the Territory, and a mode directed for fixing the rates of ferriage,

Resolved, therefore, That the governor be requested, to declare, by proclamation or otherwise, from time to time, what ferries shall be erected, by whom to be kept, and where:

Resolved, also, That the several courts of quarter sessions be empowered, and they are hereby authorized and empowered to fix, from time to time, the rates to be demanded at the ferries now or hereafter to be established in their respective counties, having regard to the distance which such ferry boats have to travel, & the danger or difficulties incident to the same.

AUGUST 15.

Assembled accordingly.

Judge Turner moved and it was agreed to, that all resolutions, operating as laws, be from time to time printed and added to the laws, by way of appendix.

APPENDIX

No minutes of this legislature for dates subsequent to August 15, 1795, were published in the *Centinel of the North Western Territory*. The following resolutions, adopted on the respective dates, appear in the appendix to the "*Maxwell Code*".

Tuesday, August 18.

Resolved,

That where persons sufficiently learned in the law can be found to fill the benches of the courts of Common Pleas, it would be the safer way to commission them during good behaviour.

Resolved,

That commissions issued by the Governor, and creating no express condition or limitation as to the duration of the office, are in the nature of a grant, and must be taken most favourable for the grantor,

Resolved, therefore,

That all such commissions may, be express revocation, be avoided or revoked.

Thursday, August 20.

On motion of the Governor.

Whereas it has been represented to the Legislature, that from a change in the population of the county of St. Clair, the district of Prairie du Rocher, is become inconvenient, and that the courts therein cannot be kept up.

Resolved,

That the Governor may, if he shall find the case to be as has been represented dissolve, by proclamation, the said district of Prairie du Rocher, and suppress the several courts directed to be held therein and divide the said district in the most convenient manner for the inhabitants: adding one part to, and incorporating the same with the district of Kahokia, and the other part with the district of Kaskaskia.

TITLES OF LAWS PASSED AND DATE OF PUBLICATION.

1. Subjecting real estate to execution for debt. (*Pub. June 1. Took effect August 15.*)
2. Regulating domestic attachments. (*Pub. June 1. Took effect August 15.*)
3. For the easy and speedy recovery of small debts. (*Pub. June 3. Took effect October 1.*)

4. Concerning defalcation. (*Pub. June 5. Took effect August 15.*)

5. To prevent unnecessary delays in causes, after issue joined. (*Pub. June 5. Took effect August 15.*)

6. Establishing courts of judicature. (*Pub. June 6. Took effect August 15.*)

7. For the limitation of actions. (*Pub. June 10. Took effect October 1.*)

8. For the relief of persons conscientiously scrupulous to take an oath in the common form. (*Pub. June 11. Took effect October 1.*)

9. For the recovery of fines and forfeitures, and directing how the same are to be estreated. (*Pub. June 11. Took effect June 11.*)

10. Ascertaining and regulating the fees of the several officers and persons therein named. (*Pub. June 16. Took effect October 1.*)

11. For establishing orphans' courts. (*Pub. June 16. Took effect October 1.*)

12. For the settlement of intestates' estates. (*Pub. June 16. Took effect August 15.*)

13. To license and regulate taverns. (*Pub. June 17. Took effect August 15.*)

14. Establishing the recorder's office. (*Pub. June 18. Took effect August 1.*)

15. For raising county rates and levies. (*Pub. June 19. Took effect October 1.*)

16. For the relief of the poor. (*Pub. June 19. Took effect October 1.*)

17. Concerning the probate of wills, written or nunciative. (*Pub. June 19. Took effect October 1.*)

18. Regulating inclosures. (*Pub. June 25. Took effect October 1.*)

19. As to the order of paying debts of persons deceased. (*Pub. June 26. Took immediate effect.*)

20. Concerning trespassing animals. (*Pub. June 26. Took effect October 1.*)

21. Directing how husband and wife may convey their estates. (*Pub. June 26. Took effect August 15.*)

22. For the speedy assignment of dower. (*Pub. July 14. Took effect October 1.*)

23. Giving remedies in equity, in certain cases. (*Pub. July 14. Took effect September 1.*)

24. Annulling the distinction between petit treason and murder. (*Pub. July 14. Took effect October 1.*)

25. Declaring what laws shall be in force. (*Pub. July 14. Took effect October 1.*)
26. To prevent trespassing by cutting of timber. (*Pub. July 14. Took effect August 15.*)
27. Repealing certain laws and acts, and parts of laws and acts. (*Pub. July 14. Took effect August 14.*)
28. Respecting divorce. (*Pub. July 15. Took effect October 1.*)
29. For the partition of lands. (*Pub. June 17. Took effect October 1.*)
30. Allowing foreign attachments. (*Pub. July 15. Took effect October 1.*)
31. Concerning the duty and power of coroners. (*Pub. July 16. Took effect August 15.*)
32. For continuing suits in the general and circuit courts. (*Pub. July 16. Took immediate effect.*)
33. To suppress gaming. (*Pub. July 16. Took effect October 1.*)
34. As to proceedings in ejectment, distress for rent, and tenants at will holding over. (*Pub. July 17. Took effect October 1.*)
35. Limiting imprisonment for debt, and subjecting certain debtors and delinquents to servitude. (*Pub. August 15. Took effect August 15.*)

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EARLY JOURNEYS TO OHIO

BY B. F. PRINCE,

Professor in Wittenberg College.

The contest for the lands west of the Ohio river began centuries ago. It was a goodly land in the eyes of the savages as well as those of the white man. A short survey of the Indian occupation will help us to understand the fierce contest between the French and English for domination in this region. There is a conflict of opinion as to conditions in that territory from about 1650 to 1740. A great war of many years' duration between the Iroquois and the Algonquin tribes arose about the middle of the seventeenth century. The war was fierce and devastating and resulted in a complete victory for the Iroquois. It was impossible for many years thereafter for any tribe to make a home within what is now Ohio. This region became as much a debatable ground as was the region of Kentucky in the days of Daniel Boone and his brave companions.

Other writers who seem well informed on the prevailing conditions of the west during the period mentioned do not admit the lack of Indian settlement in this territory but speak of French traders visiting there for the purpose of traffic. It is quite probable that for some little time the Indians who had been living here were driven out, but when the smoke of battle had cleared away, and the enemy were far distant they soon returned to their former possessions, and hunted over their land as in the days before the war.

The Miami tribes were the real masters of this region. They were perhaps in the zenith of their power about the middle of the eighteenth century. They held the country from the Scioto to the Wabash and had numerous towns in this wide and fertile district. Its

fine meadows, noble forests, many rivers and abundant game met every want of these occupants. Perhaps no region in our whole country has been so hotly contended for by the natives both formerly and latterly as was this. The many wars and forays between 1755 and 1795, during which period thousands of whites lost their lives and thousands more were carried into captivity, were consequences of the purpose of the savages to hold the Ohio territory at any cost. No more thrilling, yet harrowing narrative was ever written than Wither's *Chronicles of Border Warfare*, which show the persistence of the whites to encroach on the Indian lands and the determination of the Indians to maintain their rightful hold.

In the first half of the eighteenth century various other tribes of Indians were crowding into this territory. The Wyandots, the Shawnees, Mingoes, Delawares and others found it a goodly land for their future abode. They had been disturbed in their own native place either by white men or by some of their own forest people whose ill will they had provoked by their insolence or by rivalry in trade.

The Indians were somewhat divided in their sympathies. The Iroquois during most of their history favored the English while the Algonquins or Hurons, in which great family the Miamis were included, for a long period bestowed their friendship upon the French. For some time the English had endeavored to win by gifts the Miamis to their support but were unable to accomplish their purpose. Near the beginning of the 18th century the Miami tribes divided in their allegiance between the French and English. By 1715 the English had won their way for a short time to the friendship of some of them and were permitted to carry on trade with them. However, few English traders invaded the region beyond the Ohio, the traffic was mostly consummated at some point in western Pennsylvania or at Fort Harris or Logstown, or Lancaster. This continued until 1744 at which time the Miamis entered into a

covenant with the French to drive out all English traders from the Miami country. But the French were not favorably received by all the tribes. An Indian chief Nicholas by name, a Huron, formed a conspiracy to overthrow the French, but a premature murder revealed the plot and thwarted its purpose. But the struggle for the Indian trade did not slumber; it was continuous. Many tribes inclined to favor the English because they gave better bargains than the French. But the French were better diplomats than the English; their free and easy life won and carried away the hearts and affections of the Indians. The French seemed to want nothing but the pelts that the Savages could collect; they left them in full possession of their forest with its complement of game, while the English wanted lands for their own use, leaving nothing for the Indians but a despoiled country.

In 1748 a treaty was made at Lancaster, Pennsylvania, between the Iroquois and the western Indians, the purpose of which was to open trade with the English. At the same time a treaty was made with the Miamis which offered many advantages to the colonies of Pennsylvania and Virginia. Trade with the west was regarded as of so much importance that in 1749 the Governors of Pennsylvania, Maryland and Virginia cleared a path from the forks of the Ohio to the country of the Miamis west of the Scioto. From the forks it was extended eastward to Wills Creek, and a good horsepath to Harris Station, now Harrisburg. Thence wagon roads led to Lancaster and Philadelphia.

While the English were making great strides toward securing Indian trade the French became equally busy to control the same and to secure a permanent hold upon this vast extent of unexcelled land. It was at this time that they planted the five leaden plates along the Ohio river, on which they pronounced the surrounding country as a part of their possession. But their efforts to secure the favor of the Western Indians at this time did not meet with success.

Continued interchanges of gifts and visits were carried on between the English and Indians. Every effort was made to perpetuate the friendship so auspiciously started. At the request of the Miami tribe the Governor of Virginia agreed to put in better condition the road recently made for the benefit of trade. Many presents were sent to the Miamis by the hands of Croghan and Montour, on account of which permission was given them to erect a trading post at the mouth of Loramie's Creek, located about two and a half miles above the present site of Piqua, O. Men of wealth, character and influence of Philadelphia became interested in the enterprise and invested their capital in this profitable undertaking. The Proprietors of Pennsylvania wished to become partners in the business but were refused on the ground that it should be for native Americans alone, or those who had cast in their lot absolutely with that people.

The trading post erected there was known as Pickawillany, or Picktown. Its location was on a plateau overlooking the somewhat narrow valley of the Great Miami River. There was an enclosure of an acre or more, made of palisades, the lines of which it is said can still be seen when the ground is freshly plowed. The time of its erection was 1751. No sooner had the French heard of its erection and occupancy by the English than its overthrow was planned. A force was secured at Detroit consisting of French and Indians and after a long and weary march thru forests and over swamps and bogs it came suddenly upon the town, whose inhabitants were entirely ignorant of the approach of a hostile force.

Until 1751 no formal exploration of what is now the state of Ohio had been made by the English. For nearly a hundred years previous to this, English traders had now and then wandered into this country, but most of their bargains had been made with the Indians at some town in the Eastern part of Pennsylvania. The French had much closer relations with the dwellers of

the forest and consequently secured most of their traffic in furs for which they gave little of value in return. But the English awakening to the wonderful possibility of trade with the men of the forest hastened to take advantage of the opportunity.

When Gist and Walker made their explorations in what is now Ohio and Kentucky there was not a house erected nor a field cultivated for the protection and support of the white man in all that region. Immense forests covered the land, inhabited by rude and fierce savages. Perhaps LaSalle was the first white man who visited this region and saw its vastness and its possibilities as he floated slowly down the Ohio in 1679, beholding the unbroken line of endless forests on either side of the river. Truly then nature reigned in all its beauty and strength, being in marked contrast with the civilized desolation that has followed in the footsteps of the white man.

While the French had visited the wilds of the west as far as the Mississippi by 1755, the English had spent most of their energies east of the Mountains. They did not seem anxious about the great regions beyond the natural boundary line. Save only to a few traders who had wandered for gain in the untraveled regions, the western country was an unknown problem. When suddenly they came to realize that the French were about to hem them in they became alert and took steps to gain full possession of what they believed to be their own. Land companies were formed whose purpose was to secure large tracts along the Ohio and pave the way for emigration from the older settlements. It was easy to secure patents for such companies on the most favorable terms. Eight hundred thousand acres were arranged for in what is now Kentucky, and in 1750 Dr. Thomas Walker was sent out by the company receiving the patent to locate the land. His journal, written at the time of his visit, was not published until 1888. This was

the first attempt to secure some accurate knowledge of Kentucky.

The next attempt was made to learn the true conditions of the lands west of the Ohio and of the Indians who occupied the region. This part of the west had long been a source for much imagination as to the quality of the land and the number of Indians who lived there. Incursions by Indians from these domains had been made from time to time into the settlements of Pennsylvania and the valley of Virginia, and on account of their frequency and their success much fear was entertained on account of them. Because of the amount of furs also brought by them to the various trading posts in Pennsylvania, it was thought well to cultivate their friendship and break their alliance with the French.

In 1749 George II granted to the First Ohio Company a tract of land containing five hundred thousand acres, said land to be located in what is now West Virginia. Franklin, who was in England when the new company applied for a patent, added his influence in securing favorable action from the king. This company had other projects in view. They wished to secure lands more level and promising than those found on the east and south of the Ohio river, but their idea of the character of the land north and west of the Ohio was only a matter of conjecture. To get proper information concerning it the company selected Christopher Gist of North Carolina to explore these lands. The company was composed of a number of gentlemen prominent in political life and of approved business ability. Among them were Thomas Lee, President of the Council of Virginia, Lawrence and August Washington, Thomas Cresap, Robert Dinwiddie, Governor of Virginia, and fourteen others. In preparation for Gist's journey a store was opened at Wills Creek, now Cumberland, Maryland, and Thomas Cresap was instructed to open a road to the Monongahela River. The agreement with Gist was that he should have one hundred and fifty

pounds for his services and such additional compensation as the value of his labors might warrant.

On the 17th day of September, 1750, a special committee issued a bill of instructions to Mr. Gist. He was to go westward beyond the great mountains in order to discover the lands along the Ohio, as far as the Falls of the Ohio, note its rivers and the character of the soil as to its quality and productiveness. They further say: "You are to observe what nations of Indians inhabit there, their strength and numbers, whom they trade with and in what commodities they deal. When you find a large quantity of good level land such as you think will suit the company you are to measure the length and breadth of it." The instructions repeat the phrase, "good and level land," as though this was a chief reason for the great and perilous journey of Gist.

On Wednesday, October 13, 1750, Gist started on his westward trip from Wills Creek. His advance was slow for he did not reach Shannopin's town until Nov. 21st. A few days later he reached Logstown, eighteen miles below Shannopins town, the latter being located at the forks of the Ohio. While at Shannopins town Gist says he adjusted his compass privately because the Indians were suspicious of a man with a compass. To them it was evidence that the owner of the instrument was preparing to take away their lands. As the English were greedy for land the Indians watched every movement that seemed to indicate such a purpose. For this reason the Indians loved the French much more than the English, for the former made no effort to take away their lands for their own use. A few days later Gist entered what is now Ohio, taking a southwesterly course through the country which he pronounces very good. He passed by small Indian towns. Deer were plentiful, so that the company consisting of eleven persons suffered no inconvenience for the lack of food.

On the 14th of December Gist and his party reached a town on the Muskingum occupied by the Wyandots.

As he approached this town he saw the English colors flying from the king's house. He soon discovered that George Croghan had a trading post there. The French having risen against all English traders, Croghan had sent word to all Englishmen scattered about to come to the Wyandot town as a place of protection. Gist tarried here a number of days. News is brought of the capture of some English traders but it has no terror for Gist. He conferred with the Indians present and made regulations with them concerning trade. On the 25th day of December he says in his journal: "This being Christmas day, I intended to read prayers, but after inviting some of the white men they informed each other of my intentions and being of several different persuasions and few of them being inclined to hear any good they refused to come." However, one Thomas Birney, a blacksmith, made a canvass and induced some whites to attend, also a number of Indians were finally present. When Gist saw the apparently interested auditors about him, he said: "I have no design or intention to give offence to any particular sect or religion, but as our king indulges us all in a liberty of conscience and hinders none of you in the exercise of your religious worship, so it would be unjust in you to stop the propagation of this. The doctrine of salvation, faith and good works is what I only propose to treat of." He then read from the homilies of the Church of England which Montour interpreted for the Indians who seemed much gratified for the message. So far as I know this was the first religious meeting conducted by a Protestant in Ohio. It preceded the religious work of the Moravians many years. The most interesting part about it is, that a layman intent on a great business mission, far away from home, amid the most untoward conditions and surroundings, should remember what Christmas meant to the world and was willing to witness for his Lord and his Church. It showed some good training on the part of this man. The Indians thanked him for his words and

invited him to live with them, baptize their children and perform marriage ceremonies after the Christian manner.

In striking contrast to this seeming interest in religion on the part of the savages, on the next day a white woman prisoner who after a long period of captivity had attempted to escape was brought back and then taken out of town and let loose; as she again attempted to run away, persons appointed overtook her and cruelly took away her life. Yet Gist and the other whites present were powerless to give her any aid.

After distributing presents, attended with some ceremony to make the gifts more impressive, Gist took leave of the town on the 15th day of January, 1751, accompanied by Croghan, Montour and several others. His route lay southwest from the Muskingum town, passing near the present site of Newark and by some salt springs near Licking Creek. Thence his course was by the present city of Lancaster. Near the present site of Circleville, he came to a small town inhabited by Delaware Indians. Gist was highly pleased with the beauty of the Scioto Plains. He observed a fine, rich level land, with large meadows and spacious plains covered with wild rye. He noted the large walnut, hickory, poplar, cherry, and sugar trees. Outside the valley of Virginia he had not seen such land.

Owing to the high stage of the water in the Scioto, Gist was unable to cross and so continued his journey on the east side. He passed more salt springs which Indians and traders visited to manufacture salt from the brackish waters. He passed a number of small towns of Delaware Indians. At one of these towns a council was held at which Gist states the purpose of his visit. He told them that he was sent by his father, the Governor of Pennsylvania, and then gave them some caution concerning the French. The Indians replied with repeated assertions of devotion to the English. "We assure you," they said, "we will not hear the voice of any other nation

for we are to be directed by you, our brethren, the English, and no one else." They promised to be at the proposed meeting at Logstown to which Gist invited them. At this time the Delaware tribe could gather about five hundred warriors and they seemed firmly devoted to the English.

On the 29th day of January Gist and his party arrived at the mouth of the Scioto. Situated on the right bank of the river was Hanoahstown occupied by Shawnees. It consisted of about one hundred houses. Across the Ohio River was another town of the same tribe with about forty houses. This was perhaps the only Indian town within the present limits of Kentucky. On the approach of the party on the left bank of the Scioto river, they fired their guns to notify the Indians of their presence. This purpose was soon effective and men from the town came and ferried the visitors over to the other side.

On the next day there was held a council at which time Croghan delivered sundry speeches from the Governor of Pennsylvania. He stated that word had come that the French had offered a large sum of money for the scalps of Croghan and Montour. These traders were well known to the French through Indian reports, and they were feared because of their ability in securing the friendship and trade of the western Indians. The French were very busy at this time locating trading posts south of Lake Erie in order to prevent all encroachments of the English on this territory.

At this same council Montour declared that the king of England had sent a large present of goods which were held by the Governor of Virginia and which will be sent to Logstown at the meeting to be held in the Spring where the Shawnees, if represented, will share in the king's gift.

Gist and his companions remained at Shannoahs town twelve days. During this time Gist heard of a new trading post, just erected. It was said to be distant

about one hundred and fifty miles toward the northwest. The Indians located at this place were Miamis. They represented a large number of that family and as their position and character made them important it was thought worth while by Gist to make them a visit. It was a journey which he had not contemplated in his original plan. His instructions from the Governor of Virginia was to find out the numbers and strength of those Indians north of the Ohio who had lately broken friendship with the French. As the Miamis were specially included in this class it was thought important not to neglect them at this time. Otherwise he would have crossed the Ohio at once and gone down on the left bank of that river to the falls. This journey to Pickawillany is the most interesting part of his narrative.

On the eleventh day of February, 1751, Gist set out accompanied by Croghan, Montour, Kallander and a servant to carry provisions. A negro boy of seventeen who had accompanied him from Wills Creek he left at Hannoahstown to take care of the horses during the party's absence. Their trip was northwest across the divide between the Scioto and the Little Miami valleys. Reaching the Little Miami they crossed it probably in the vicinity of where Xenia is now located, and then continued toward the Great Miami, keeping on the east side of it until they came opposite Miamitown now known as Fort Pickawillany, two and one-half miles north of Piqua.

In his narrative Gist describes to some extent the land and other objects he saw while passing through. He says his journey was over fine and level land, well watered with many small streams; covered for the most part with forests of large walnut, ash, sugar, cherry and other trees; including also meadows of wild rye, blue grass and clover; and abounding in wild game consisting of turkeys, deer, elks and buffaloes of which as many as forty were seen feeding in one meadow.

At the time of his arrival opposite Pickawillany the

Miami River was so swollen that the party was compelled to make a raft on which they might cross. They were well received by the Indians and the traders. The Miamis had lately cast aside the French and turned toward the English. When this occurred they removed from the Wabash to the Miami to be near their friends the English. A formal conference was held, presents were made by both parties and pledges of intercourse and fidelity. In bestowing the gifts to the Indians Montour, who made the presentation speech, said, "We now present you with the two strings of wampum to remove all trouble from your hearts and clear your eyes, that you may see the sun clear, for we have a great deal to say to you." He then advised them to send for other tribes and especially those who could speak the Mohican or Mingoe tongue. Delegates from various towns did come generally for purposes of trade and to hear the news. A trading post was a place not only for exchange of material things but also for collecting rumors, suspicions, and reports, and the Indians could be entertained by these as well as the white man.

On Sunday Morning Feb. 24th, four French traders came in bringing presents consisting of two small kegs of brandy, a roll of tobacco and two strings of wampum. The chief of the Twigtwees replied, making it clear that the French had by their conduct forfeited the further favor of the tribes, and that they now had transferred their affections to the English. Daily meetings were held in the council house; speeches made, and presents exchanged. It was a time of intense anxiety to Gist. Whichever party, the English or the French, could array the entire Miami tribe in its behalf would have a great advantage not only in trade, but in the final possession of the country. The events taking place in this far away trading post may seem to us an insignificant side show but to the actors it was of vast importance which party should win in the contest. At one of the meetings held

on the 1st of March the speaker of the Twigtwees expressed the gratification of his people that the English had taken notice of them. He added, "You told us our friendship should last as long as the greatest mountain. We have considered well, and all our chiefs and warriors have come to a resolution never to give heed to what the French say to us, but always to hear and believe what you our brothers say to us."

The visit of Gist and his party seemed at the time to have been successful. The promises were all the English could wish. But the Indians were not always true to their agreements. Three years later these very Miami tribes were arrayed on the side of the French, ready to do battle against these to whom their friendship was so earnestly pledged. After a month's stay at Pickawillany Gist took his departure, satisfied that he had won the Miamis for the English. Articles of Peace and Alliance had been drawn up and signed and sealed by both parties. The period of anxiety was now over and the end crowned with the joy of seeming victory.

In his narrative Gist now turns to describe the Miami country which he has been permitted to see. He finds along the Great Miami river rich land, well timbered, and fine meadows. The grass grows to a great height in the clear fields of which there are many, and the bottoms were full of white clover, wild rye, and blue grass.

After leaving Pickawillany the party proceeded thirty-five miles and reached Mad creek. We can see in this name the present Mad River. Probably the path pursued by them was along the Indian trail that led to Piqua town west of Springfield, and then on to Chillicothe and Hannonah's town on the Ohio.

Somewhere, likely in Clark county, Croghan, Montour and Kallander separated from Gist. They took a course that would bring them to the Hockhocking, while Gist now almost alone directed his steps across the meadows of the Little Miami and over the highlands between that river and the Scioto. He again observed

the meadows and timber which attracted him before. Out of fear of French and Indians who might be looking for him, he kept out of the usual path which made his journey longer and more wearisome.

After seven days he reached Hanoah's town where he was received with great joy. More than one hundred and fifty guns were fired and an entertainment was held in his honor.

On the twelfth of March Gist with his colored boy was ferried across the Ohio whence they took their long journey down to the Falls of the Ohio. His observations in what is now Kentucky are outside the purpose of this paper and are therefore passed by.

The trip of Gist was remarkable in various ways. It was made in the winter. The country was without roads, only paths existed and these were fraught with danger. There were no lodging places; only such accommodations were at hand as the traveler could make for himself. He was exposed to all kinds of weather. The whole purpose of his trip was in the interest of a rich corporation of land holders who wished to add to their already large holdings. To win the Indians away from the French and attach them to the English was rather an after thought on the part of Gist than a set purpose of the Ohio Company. But it was valuable to the English as it gave some facts about a hitherto unknown region.

That the English should establish a trading post in the very heart of the Indian country was a matter of much concern to the French. They could not permit it and hold the respect of their former friends and admirers. Pickawillany must fall. A band of French and Indians from Fort Detroit undertook the task of accomplishing it. On the 27th of June, 1752 they suddenly appeared and found the whites and Indians utterly unprepared to defend themselves. The fort was seized, much property was destroyed. A number of the Twig-twees were killed and the conquerors meted out special

vengeance on the king of the tribe because he transferred his friendship from the French to the English, by killing him and eating his flesh. Some of the white men escaped, some were made prisoners, and some were wantonly killed. One can scarcely realize even in imagination that such atrocities were committed in our own territory at no distant day.

On the day that Fort Pickawillany was seized another messenger set out from Logstown to visit the Indians of the west and invite them to the meeting. He carried with him many presents for the savages into whose towns he might come. He had been commissioned by Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia to make the visit the purpose of which was to cement the friendship between the Miamis and the English. While on his journey among the Indian towns along the Muskingum and its tributaries he was informed of the recent assault on the Miamis at Pickawillany. This news led him to take precautionary steps. He realized that it was not safe to go at once to that place, fearing that the unfriendly Indians as well as the French might still be lurking about. He therefore visited the Shawnees along the Scioto and induced them to cooperate with him in his journey. They promised to do as he wished, but because of the presence of rum the greater part of the men of the town were too much under its influence to accompany him. As he turned from the Scioto towns northwestward his path led him through the western part of Clark county. Though he reached the fort and remained there for a week or more, Captain Trent was unable to have a conference with the Miamis. The hostilities that had just taken place and the consequent excitement arising from the sudden attack, the carrying away of much valuable property and the slaughter of many men made it impossible to secure an audience with them. This failure to get a hearing made the trip of Trent useless.

On the 21st of July, Captain Trent's return began.

An investigation was first made to discover if any of the French party were still in the region but fortunately no trace could be found. The return trip was attended with exceedingly hot weather. It was also very dry. Many of the streams and springs were dried up which caused much suffering to Trent and his party. Extremes in weather conditions prevailed then as now.

The visits to the western territory by these early traders and agents were in large part, for the purpose of securing the favor of the savages who then occupied the land. Their trade was of such value that no efforts were too laborious or dangerous to win and retain their friendship. Each party, French and English, had strong qualities that captivated the men of the forest. It was a trial of skill, diplomacy, and duplicity often, which were called into practice to gain and hold their friendship. Both parties were adepts at the business.

A personal word about two of these actors may not be out of place. George Croghan who for a long time was in active service for the English came to this country from Ireland when he was about twenty years of age. He soon learned the language of the Indians which made him serviceable as an interpreter. He was fond of adventure, fearless of danger, and ready at all times to perform a mission for the benefit of state or individuals. He made many journeys west of the mountains, some of them leading him far within the present limits of Ohio and one down the Ohio to Fort Massac to make a treaty with the Indians of Illinois, from which point he made his way through forests and prairie to Fort Detroit. He was a cousin of Major Croghan of Locust Grove, Kentucky, the father of Captain Croghan who so gallantly defended Fort Stephenson in 1813.

Christopher Gist was born in the State of Maryland. His father was a surveyor and for a time the son pursued the same business. Later Christopher Gist settled on the Yadkin in North Carolina where his fam-

ily remained while he made his trip to the Ohio Country. After his return he took up lands in western Pennsylvania. He was active in the French and Indian War and during its continuance he made a journey to the Cherokees of Georgia to enlist them in the war on behalf of the English. He died from smallpox in 1759. His sons were officers in the Revolution. One afterwards went to Kentucky where he had a large body of land given to him for his services. It is a matter of some interest that two of his descendants became candidates for the Vice-Presidency, F. P. Blair in 1868 and B. Gratz Brown in 1872.

The number of Englishmen who made trips to Ohio before the French and Indian war cannot be known. They have left no record of their business visits. Indian tradition speaks of them as early as 1725, yet most of the trade with the Indians before 1745 was done east of the mountains. But when the rivalry between the French and English began to be acute, the agents of the latter sought trade in the very heart of the western forests and shrank at no danger in the pursuit of his plans and purposes. In this he is supported by such persons as Sir Wm. Johnson and Reuben Weiser. The Ohio Land Company stood ready to aid in the project. Gist, Croghan, Montour and others are enlisted in the scheme and all do valiant service. Then persistence and boldness brought on the war. Geo. Washington was an actor in the struggle and his perilous journey of 1754 is an evidence of it.

While there was yet land enough on the eastern side of the mountains to satisfy every economic need, there was a longing for the half mythical regions of the west. And especially so when rivals were striving for its occupation. We know little of the anxieties, experiences and hardships assumed by the men of that distant day to obtain and hold a land that is now ours to share and enjoy.

THE INDIAN'S HEAD

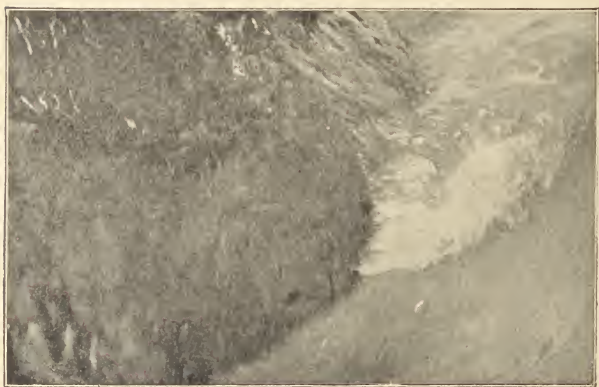
HENRY BANNON

The white man, when he first crossed the Allegheny Mountains and entered the Ohio Valley, found many crude drawings of the figures of men and beasts on the rocks, along the Guyandotte and Ohio rivers. Of course it is not positively known whether these pictures were the work of Indians or of some tribes that preceded the Indians. On the Kentucky shore, about opposite the foot of Bond Street, Portsmouth, Ohio, there still stands one of these inscribed rocks, known as the "Indian's head." A hundred years ago, this rock, and the Indian head cut in it, could be seen when the river was low. But, owing to changes in the channel of the river, the rock is now visible only when the river is exceedingly low. And the face, carved on the rock, is beneath the water, even at its lowest stages. On September 9, 1894, the Ohio River was so low that about two feet of the rock was above the surface of the water; and the Indian head was about ten inches below the surface of the water. The head could be easily traced with the hand; and, in the morning, when the rising sun shone fairly on the water, above the sculpture, the Indian head was plainly visible, beneath the waters. Doubt has been expressed as to this figure's being the work of ancient tribes. There is a tradition that stone was quarried from the hill above it, during pioneer days, and that a quarryman carved the Indian face. Squier and Davis in "Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley" (1847) thus described it:

"It consists of a colossal human head cut in outline, upon the vertical face of a large rock extending into the river. It is always under water, except when the river is at its very lowest stages, and is not exposed oftener than once in four or five years.

It is familiarly known as the 'Indian's head,' and is regarded as a sort of river gauge or meter. When the water line is at the top of the head, the river is considered very low."

In those days there was the familiar frontier tendency to magnify the proportions of natural objects which tendency is now observed only by fishermen. Hence, Squier and Davis's description of the Indian head as "colossal". Neither saw it so they adopted as



A RARE VIEW OF "INDIAN'S HEAD."

a fact the impression of some one possessing a rather elastic imagination.

The rock, upon which the "Indian's head" is cut, was exposed during a period of low water in October, 1920. A short time prior to that low water stage some wickets of a dam in the Ohio river, a few miles west of Portsmouth, were broken by a steamer; otherwise water would have remained over the rock, because the dam when in repair creates a deep pool extending some distance beyond the location of the rock. As no picture or accurate description of the Indian's head was in ex-

istence, my brother, Arthur H. Bannon, determined to secure a photograph of it, if possible. On October 22, 1920, the top of the sculpture was about six inches beneath the surface of the river so a plan to bring it into view for a photograph had to be devised. This was accomplished by running a motor boat past the rock at very fast speed. As the boat drew the water away from the rock, a photograph was obtained of the sculpture.



INDIAN'S HEAD ROCK.

The difficulties in the way of a clear photograph were many, for the photographer was obliged to stand in the water and take the picture instantaneously, when the wave was at its lowest ebb, and while water was still running down the side of the rock. The work had to be done in the morning, while the sun was back of the camera, and at an hour when the atmosphere was still a little hazy and the light not good. The wickets had just been repaired and the river was slowly rising, so it

was then or never. Had there been sufficient time to do so, a cofferdam would have been built around the rock that it might be thoroughly examined. After several attempts to take a photograph of the sculpture, one was successful and we now have an exact reproduction of the image that has for many years been a mystery. The initials E. D. C., never noticed before, were discovered at the right and near the bottom of the sculpture, as one faces it, and a date, the month of which (September) only could be made out. The initials were neatly carved, evidently by one quite adept in stone carving. Such was the only time, within the memory of any living man, that the Indian's head has been seen, except when covered with water. In all probability neither the Indian's head, nor the rock upon which it is cut, will ever be seen again, as it is hardly within the realms of chance that the dam will be broken at such an opportune time.

Unquestionably the Indians head was not the work of a quarryman. It bears strong resemblance to other Indian carvings and impresses the mind with the fact that it is thoroughly Indian in its execution. The outline is cut in the southeast corner of the rock and faces east.

There is another rock, about one hundred yards upstream from the Indian rock, upon which some one in recent years carved an Indian profile with feathered head-dress, but this one is not the genuine Indian head, though frequently taken for it.

OHIO STATE ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY

REVIEWS, NOTES AND COMMENTS

JAMES R. MORRIS

James R. Morris was born at Rogersville, Green County, Pennsylvania, January 10, 1820. He died at Woodsfield, Ohio, December 24, 1899.

His father, Joseph Morris, was elected to Congress in 1843 and re-elected two years later.

Joseph Morris moved with his family to Waynesburgh, Pennsylvania, in 1828, in the following year to Antioch, Ohio, and two years later to Woodsfield, Ohio.

James R. Morris received his education in the common schools and the printing office. He studied law in Woodsfield and was admitted to the bar October 25, 1843. In this year his father, who was county treasurer, was elected to Congress and the son was appointed to fill the unexpired term. In 1844 he founded the *Spirit of Democracy*, which is still published. In 1857 he was nominated for the office of state treasurer but was defeated with the state ticket of his party.

In 1860 Judge Morris was elected to Congress as a Democrat and re-elected in 1862. He supported the war measures of President Lincoln, whom he greatly admired. In 1872 he was elected probate judge of Monroe County and re-elected in 1875. He served as postmaster at Woodsfield, from January 1, 1886, to July 1, 1889.

His description of the assassination of Abraham Lincoln is published for the first time in this issue.

JUDGE JOHN CLEVES SYMMES

On page 15 of this issue of the *QUARTERLY* is published a portrait of Judge John Cleves Symmes. This is from an engraving which in 1902 was in the possession of his great-granddaughter, Mrs. Betty Harrison Eaton of North Bend, Ohio. The Judge had a nephew who bore the same name, John Cleves Symmes, and whose portrait in public prints has been confused

with that of his uncle. The nephew was born in New Jersey in 1780, and died in Hamilton, Ohio, May 28, 1829. He was a soldier and served with distinction in the war of 1812. In later life he promulgated the theory that the earth is a hollow sphere, with openings at the poles. He thought it probable that the interior as well as the outer surface was inhabited. An extended account of this theory is found in the *QUARTERLY*, Vol. 18, pages 28-42.

We here reproduce a brief biographical sketch of Judge John Cleves Symmes:

"John Cleves Symmes was born on Long Island, N. Y., July 21, 1742; but removed to New Jersey, from which state he entered the Revolutionary Army as Colonel of the 3d. Battalion Sussex County New Jersey Militia. Resigned from army to accept the appointment of Justice of the Supreme Court of New Jersey. While still holding position on the Supreme Bench he was delegate to Continental Congress, 1784-5. He had also served as Lieutenant-Governor and member of the Council. He married a daughter of Governor William Livingston of New Jersey, and resided at Newton, N. J. While on the bench he presided (1782) at the famous trial of James Morgan the murderer of the patriot, Reverend James Caldwell. Judge Symmes obtained in August, 1787, a grant from Congress for the purchase of one million acres of land, lying between the Miamis and bordered on the south by the Ohio River. After many complications and difficulties, this amount was reduced to between three and four hundred thousand acres. Judge Symmes removed with his family to the Northwest Territory, of which he was appointed one of the judges in 1788. He died in Cincinnati, February 26, 1814."

The separate reports of the experts employed by the Ohio Joint Legislative Committee on Administrative Reorganization have been published and are ready for distribution by the clerk of the Senate.

THE NAGA AND THE LINGAM OF INDIA AND THE SERPENT MOUNDS OF OHIO.

BY ALEXANDER S. WILSON, M. D.,
Kodaikanal, Madura District, India.

WITH INTRODUCTION BY G. FREDERICK WRIGHT.

INTRODUCTION.

About the middle of the last century Mr. Lewis Morgan, a distinguished citizen of Rochester, New York, became interested in the manner of reckoning family relationships among the Iroquois Indians of central New York. The system was very complicated and complete. As many as 237 relationships were expressed. The system was totally different from that prevalent among the Anglo Saxons and affiliated races. The Anglo Saxons limit themselves to tracing direct relationships, son, grandson, great grandson, father, grandfather, great grandfather, etc. But the Iroquois system was that of clan relationships. As illustrating the complication of the Iroquois system we note that in it "mother's mother's mother's sister's daughter's daughter (older than myself)" is regarded as my elder sister. "My mother's mother's mother's sister's daughter's daughter's daughter's daughter is regarded as my daughter." Examination showed that this system was essentially the same as that of other tribes of North American Indians.

In 1859 Mr. Morgan happened to meet Dr. Henry W. Scudder, for a long time missionary of the Presby-



INDIAN JUGGLERS WITH COBRAS IN BASKETS. (See page 82)

terian church among the Tamils of southern India. On seeing this classificatory system of relationships among the Iroquois, Dr. Scudder said that it was almost identical with that in use among the Tamils of India, and that the correspondences were so many and so peculiar that there must be a connection somewhere in the past between these now widely separated tribes. In short they had descended in prehistoric times from a common center. Whereupon Mr. Morgan began a series of investigations under the patronage of the Smithsonian Institution of Washington and collected from tribes and societies all over the world the facts concerning the reckoning of relationships among both the Aryans who followed the direct lines and the Turanian races who were organized into clans. The great work was published as "Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge," 218, in 1871; and was entitled "Systems of Consanguinity and Affinity of the Human Family," forming a volume of nearly 600 quarto pages, full of tables giving the different systems enumerated, with appropriate descriptive matter. The result of the work in Mr. Morgan's opinion fully confirmed the inference of Dr. Scudder, that the American Indians and the Tamils of southern India had, in prehistoric times, occupied common ground and from that center had carried with them their peculiar classificatory system of expressing consanguinity. So that, after all, Columbus was not so much mistaken in calling the inhabitants of America Indians.

It is interesting to note that now, after the lapse of half a century, one of the successors of Dr. Scudder in the missionary work among the Tamils comes to a representative of the Ohio Archæological and Historical So-

ciety to say that two of their most highly valued archaeological relics, the serpent mounds of Adams and Warren counties, give incontestable evidence from another source that there must have been a prehistoric connection between the mound builders of Ohio and the Tamils of southern India. The Ohio serpent mounds represent a class of serpents that did not exist in America but are



INDIAN JUGGLERS AND COBRAS. (See page 82)

superabundant in India and worshipped by the inhabitants in great detail. Dr. Wilson's article must speak for itself.

THE NAGA AND LINGAM OF INDIA AND THE SERPENT
MOUNDS OF OHIO.

(BY DR. WILSON.)

India is often spoken of as the most religious country in the world, and enjoys the unique distinction of

having actually more gods than people within her borders, though her population, by the last census, is well over three hundred million. The reason for this lies in the fact that, with the decline of Buddhism about the sixth century A. D., Brahmanism reasserted its supremacy, and in the grand renaissance which fol-

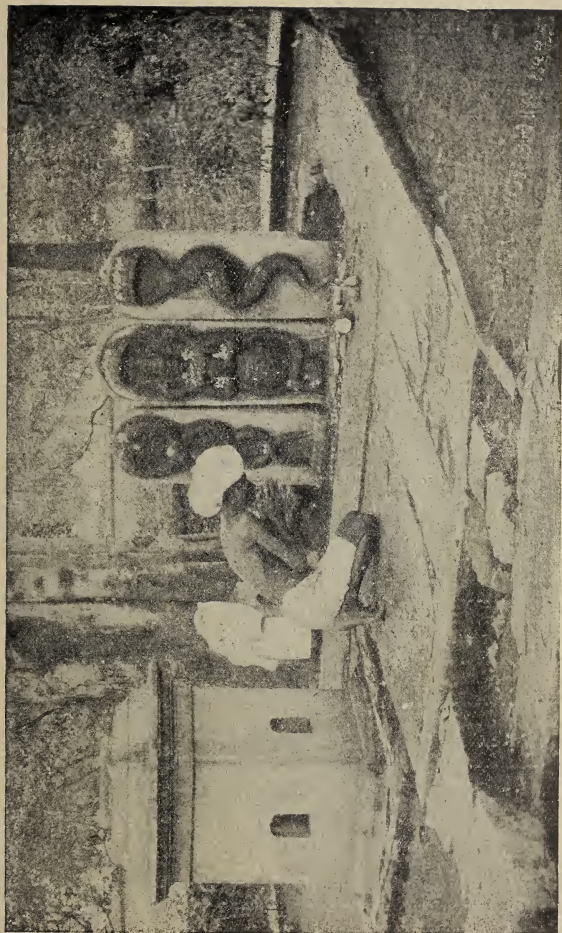


NAGA SHRINE BY THE ROADSIDE. (See page 82)

lowed, succeeded in blending all of the previous religious systems of India into one, without throwing out any of the deities, or giving serious offense to their devotees. This compound-complex combination is modern Hinduism. But, among all its millions of gods, probably none is more ancient than the Naga, the hooded cobra (Cobra

di Capello), a venomous snake averaging about four feet in length, and found everywhere over the whole land. Its bite accounts for thousands of deaths every year, but so sacred is it, that no Hindu would think of killing it. On the contrary, offerings of milk are poured into the holes in the ground where it is known to dwell, and it is shown every courtesy and consideration. Cobra worship was undoubtedly practiced by the aborigines, long before the Arayan invasion. The serpent has figured prominently in the animistic religions of all races, and is found in the mythologies of all lands.

Even the casual traveller is impressed by the number of shrines to the cobra-god, and it is safe to say that scarcely a temple in India is without this decoration, no matter to what major deity it may have been erected. And what is equally striking is that with an abundance of material to serve as living models for the artists, the representations one sees are of a very conventional type, with oftentimes very little attention to the characteristic markings of the original. Compare, for instance, the cobras shown in the following photographs of Indian jugglers, with the sculptured Nagas. In the first picture are two cobras in baskets, with their heads raised and hoods spread. The one to the right shows plainly the characteristic "spectacle" mark on the back of the hood, conferred on him as a special mark of honor by the great god Brahm. In the second picture, two cobras are shown, one of them, in part-profile. The third picture shows an ordinary Naga shrine by the roadside. These are found by the thousand in India, and the twined cobras represented are of a very conventional type.



NAGA SHRINE AND WORSHIPER. (See page 84)

The fourth picture shows three types of figures. On the left, the twined Nagas, as in the previous picture. In the center, two Nagas inclose between them the form of a god or goddess, their hoods blending in one, along the margin of which are five heads. At the right, there is one serpent, with one hood, and seven heads. The point I wish to emphasize is the wide departure from the original, in a land swarming with cobras. This is shown also in the fifth photograph of figures cut in the face of a cliff. In the center above, is a Naga whose enormous hood, with seven heads, shelters a god, while below, a goddess is protected by a hood which seems to have but three heads.

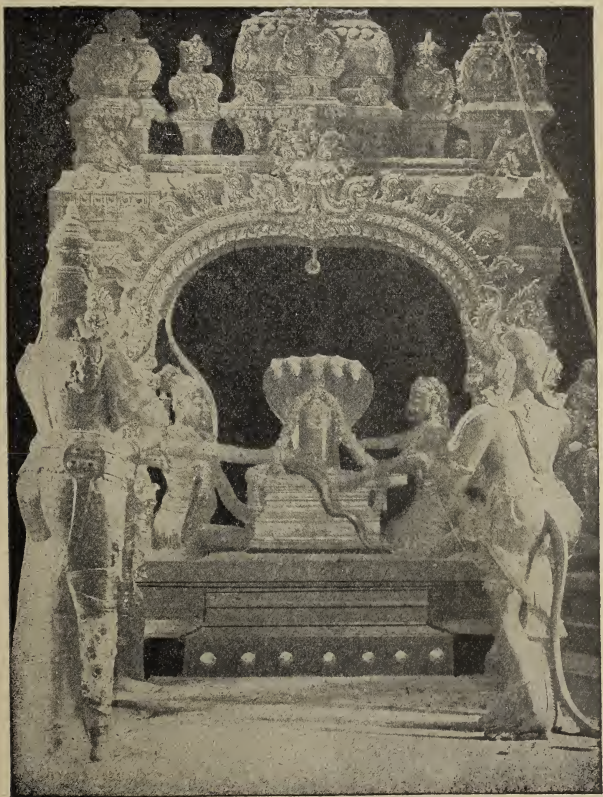
Probably from the same aboriginal source as Naga worship, and of equal antiquity and sanctity, is the worship of the lingam, the deification of the reproductive organs, usually of the male but sometimes of the female also. Max Mueller euphemistically speaks of this as the veneration of creative power in nature. Here too Hindu art uses a purely conventional form. Millions of followers of this cult keep their god with them night and day, in a small metal box, worn suspended from the neck by a string. In the box is a small disc of stone, with a slightly rounded elevation on one of its flat surfaces. The figures in the shrines, however, are usually more elaborate. At one of the most holy places in South India, is a shrine, which is visited annually by hundreds of thousands of worshippers. And there we find that the lingam, represented by a short column of stone, is sheltered and protected by the widespread hood of a huge Naga, and the hood is bordered by five heads. This is well shown in the sixth photograph.



FIGURES CUT IN FACE OF CLIFF. (See page 84)

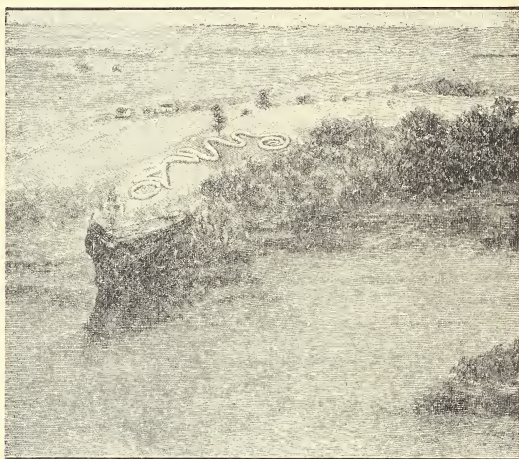
Much has been done to establish a common origin for the American Indians and the Dravidians of South India. There are said to be many striking language similarities; but that the strongest resemblance is in the constitution of the family group. I believe that in the monuments left by the Mound Builders in Ohio we have another very strong link in this chain of evidence. It is hard to conceive of the two great serpent mounds found respectively in Adams and Warren Counties as having been constructed from other than religious motives. It is impossible to think of them as works of defense, or constructed for any utilitarian purpose. The mound in Adams County is particularly striking. Of it the *Encyclopedia Britannica* says, "It is a gigantic serpent made in earth. Across the widely-opened jaws it measures seventy-five feet; the body just behind the head measures thirty feet across and is five feet high; and, following the curves, the length is one thousand three hundred and forty-eight feet. The tail is a triple coil. In front of the monster is an elliptical inclosure with a heap of stones at its center."

Many fanciful explanations of this strange monument have been offered. Prof. F. W. Putnam says that "The jaws of the serpent's mouth are widely extended, in the act of trying to swallow an egg, represented by an oval inclosure" etc. I offer the suggestion that the builders were here trying to represent the Naga and lingam. Separated by many centuries from their Asiatic home, they still cherished some tradition of the emblems, and in representing them, have not departed further from nature than has the modern Hindu, in the conventional forms above noted. The seventh picture is a photograph of the illustration appearing in Dr.



HOLY NAGA SHRINE IN SOUTH INDIA. (See page 84)

Wright's book on *The Origin and Antiquity of Man* in the chapter on the Mound Builders. It will be seen at a glance, I think, that here was an attempt to represent a hooded serpent, and this is brought out much more plainly in the photograph which is the frontispiece of the Report of the Archæological Society of Ohio. It



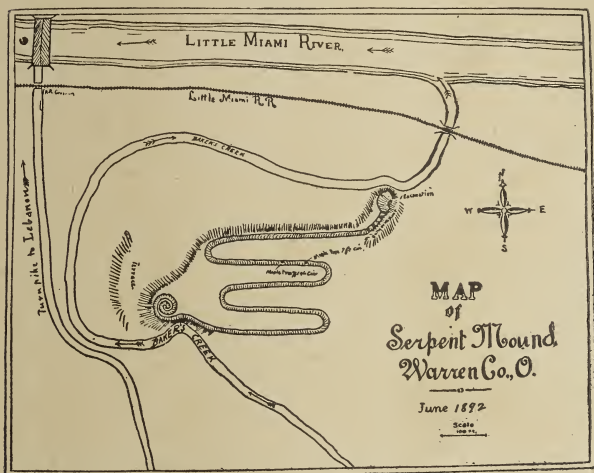
SERPENT MOUND, ADAMS COUNTY, OHIO. ("Seventh Picture")

must be remembered, too, that there is no hooded snake in the Americas.

The last picture is a crude copy of another illustration in Dr. Wright's book of the Serpent Mound found in Warren County. Here it seems to me that the attempt was to represent the hood in profile. Compare it with the profile of the cobra shown in the second picture noted above. In this case I am informed that

the nearby creek has eroded a part of the head of the monument, and may have obliterated the lingam, if one existed. This point ought to be carefully investigated by those who are in a position to consult the oldest descriptions and drawings of this mound.

There is a large possibility of further light being thrown upon the problem of the origin of our American



Indians along the line I have indicated in this paper. "In Mexico sculptured images of serpents are found as large, and as carefully wrought, as those of India."* These should be most carefully scrutinized for evidences of a hood or lingam. The hieroglyphics of Central America and Yucatan should also be carefully searched.

* *The Encyclopedia Americana.*



APPROACH TO FLINT RIDGE FROM THE WEST, OLD NATIONAL ROAD.

FLINT RIDGE.

BY WILLIAM C. MILLS.

INTRODUCTORY NOTE.

The explorations and studies recorded in this paper on Flint Ridge were undertaken for the purpose of securing for exhibition in the State Museum a complete collection of the various kinds of flint found at Flint Ridge as well as the implements used in quarrying the flint from its natural bed. A preliminary examination of Flint Ridge beginning at its western edge in Hopewell Township, Licking County, Ohio, extending eastward and ending in western Muskingum County, a distance of practically eight miles, made it apparent that a more extended and systematic study of the quarrying, manufacture, and distribution of flint objects was necessary to enable one to cope with the many complex problems arising from a study of the art of shaping the raw material into artificial forms to meet the varied needs of a primitive people.

As the search for specimens of flint and the implements used in quarrying progressed, it was found necessary to examine a number of so-called pits, in search of the evidence of quarrying flint and to find the flint in its original bed, partly quarried, and this proved a very difficult task in the region of the suitable flint for making knives, arrow, and spear points, for this flint had practically all been removed from its original bed, carried to workshops and made into suitable forms convenient for transportation.

The examination soon developed the fact that primitive man may have developed quarrymen who devoted their time exclusively to producing the raw material and turning over such material to a second industry, that of roughing-out the blank forms. This, however, may have been accomplished by the same individual but at different times and places.

The third process comprised the art of trimming, making into special forms and finishing blades or cores ready for transportation.

Therefore, it seems that the three well defined steps would give rise to three separate industries carried on by the same individuals at different times or places or by different groups of experts trained in their respective industry. The Flint Ridge quarries for the most part show that the first and second steps were accomplished mainly at the quarries, because primitive man found it uneconomical to transport blocks of material of which nine-tenths would be thrown away as useless; and further, the promising blocked-out piece might develop seams or geodes of crystals that would destroy its usefulness in making the desired implement. The workshop developed many such specimens, showing the advisability of working out the form of the article to be shaped in such a manner as to test the material and its capacity for specialization before leaving the source of supply. In other words, Flint Ridge became a great factory site, in which two principal commodities were manufactured and made ready to transport by manpower over the entire state of Ohio and into other states where the raw material was lacking. The two commodities mentioned were the flint blades, ranging in size from

the small arrowhead to the blades for making into spears, and the flint core, from which the flint knife was made. The flint used for these purposes was found in the region of the cross-roads directly north of Brownsville. The workshops in close proximity to the quarries contained many rejects, showing that even with expert selection many of the pieces were not adapted for making the desired flint knife with a long, keen cutting edge, so highly prized by primitive man.

As the examination of the quarries and the region surrounding them progressed, many problems arose concerning the probable prehistory Indians who did the extensive quarrying. All the surrounding workshop sites were examined but no implements other than those used in shaping the blades were found. However, at the west end of the ridge was located a large mound surrounded by a circle made of blocks of flint and earth. This mound was examined and the culture determined to be the Hopewell, the highest in point of advanced prehistory civilization in Ohio, showing that this culture had established themselves at the site of this wonderful supply of the most desirable raw material used in the manufacture of artificial forms to meet the varied needs of the primitive inhabitants. A detailed account of the examination of this mound will be found in the pages following the account of the examination of the quarry sites.

I am greatly indebted to many individuals for their assistance in the examination of Flint Ridge and especially to Mr. H. C. Shetrone, assistant curator, who carried forward the work on occasions when other duties connected with the Museum compelled me to be

absent; to Dr. Clark Wissler of the American Museum of Natural History, New York, who spent a short time in July, 1918, and again in August, 1919, for his help and counsel; to Professor J. Arthur MacLean of the Cleveland Museum of Art, for his assistance in the exploration of the mound located at the west end of the "Ridge;" to Mr. Jay Clark, a resident of the "Ridge" for more than forty years, for help and information given and specimens presented to the museum. To the many residents of the "Ridge" I wish to extend my thanks for assistance in the laborious excavations made in various sections and for specimens presented to the museum.

THE FIELD OF INVESTIGATION.

Flint Ridge is a very irregular plateau-capped line of rugged hills, located in Licking and Muskingum counties, about midway between Newark, the county seat of Licking, and Zanesville, the county seat of Muskingum. The region is a part of the great Allegheny Plateau which has an elevation of approximately 1,200 feet at the western end of the ridge in Licking, gradually decreasing eastward, probably due to the greater eroding agencies. The Licking River, located about five miles north of Flint Ridge, runs approximately east and parallel with Flint Ridge and empties into the Muskingum River. The small ribbon-like valley plains, with small streams fed by springs from the "Ridge", would furnish no means of water transportation to and from the source of supply; consequently the only way to reach the "Ridge" was by trails through the deep tangled forest, leading to the great manufacturing industrial center of the pre-historic Indian, in the region of Clark's blacksmith-shop, located at the road-crossing three miles directly north of Brownsville. It is striking to observe that the varied phenomena studied are assembled within a radius of one mile of this place, and at the extreme eastern end of the "Ridge". The flint occurring outside of these two places was of no practical use to primitive man, be-



FIG. 1. Cleared portion of Flint Ridge looking north from east and west road on the top of the Ridge.

cause of its unfitness for chipping into form on account of impurities.

In the region of the cross-roads the best examples of flint may be found, as well as the largest quarries located on the "Ridge".

An examination of the quarries developed the fact that only a very small portion of the flint deposit was of use to prehistoric man in the manufacture of artifacts, as much of the flint was full of seams and cracks which did not permit of the manufacture of a desired artifact with any degree of certainty, as demonstrated by the many broken blades found on the site of the work shop.

Another feature of the flint in this section was the presence of countless geodes filled with quartz crystals. The geodes varied in size from that of a pea or less to large geodes of from twelve to fourteen inches in diameter. The quartz crystals found in the geodes were usually small, but the large geodes generally contained large crystals. Apparently the crystals, unless very large, were not used in any way and were thrown away with the useless flint.

The flint found outside of the regions where it was quarried is very porous and fossiliferous, and very frequently mixed with calcareous or argillaceous material, which rendered it useless to primitive man as far as chipped implements were concerned.

The flint at the west end of the "Ridge", in Licking County, was especially useless to primitive man, but the early white settler found it well adapted to the making of buhr-stones, used in grinding grain into flour. Near the western edge of the outcrop of the flint, several partly formed buhr-stones, each weighing a ton or more, may be seen where they were quarried, upon the farm of Mr. William Hazlett, near the only large mound located upon the "Ridge".

The flint at the eastern end of the "Ridge" is likewise unfit for implement making but well adapted for buhr-stones. In the early pioneer days of Ohio, Mr. Samuel Drumm quarried the flint in suitable blocks and fashioned them into small hand buhr-stones. One of the buhr-stones complete and one partly shaped



FIG. 2. View looking north from the point of the Ridge directly north of Clark's Blacksmith shop.

and found at the quarry where many more were in evidence are shown in Fig. 3.

The farm upon which the quarry is located is owned by Mr. George Fisher, who kindly presented to the museum a fine sample of the partly shaped buhr-stone shown to the right in Fig. 3 as well as a buhr-stone sent from France and used as a sample stone.

The manufacture of these small buhr-stones during the early settlement of the country was a very great convenience to the people, as water mills for grinding grain could only be constructed where proper conditions prevailed, and often long dis-



FIG. 3. Complete buhr-stone made by Mr. Samuel Drumm. To the left in Fig. 3 is a partly shaped buhr-stone from the farm of Mr. George Fisher.

tances would be traveled to find such a mill; consequently the small hand mill made from Flint Ridge flint was very desirable, and the manufacture of the buhr-stones proved to be a very lucrative industry. The buhr-stones manufactured at the Drumm site were sent to a point on the Old National Road, three miles to the south, where they were transported by ox teams as far west as the Mississippi River and as far east as Pittsburgh.

The preliminary examination of numerous quarries upon Flint Ridge made it apparent that the solution of the problem of quarrying the flint was unsolved and, to arrive at any definite conclusions, a systematic study of the entire area was necessary.

Consequently the field of investigation was extended to every part of the ridge where primitive man attempted to quarry and make use of the flint.

GEOLOGY OF FLINT RIDGE.

As a preliminary step to a study of the evidence of human industry on Flint Ridge, it is very important that the geology of the place be reviewed. Aboriginal flint quarries have long been known at Flint Ridge, but prior to 1830 little was known to the scientist concerning the geology of this region. The first writer referring to the aboriginal quarries was Caleb Atwater in his "*Western Antiquities*", page 28, as follows:

"A few miles below Newark, on the south side of the Licking, are some of the most extraordinary holes, dug in the earth, for number and depth, of any within my knowledge, which belonged to the people we are treating of. In popular language, they are called 'wells' but were not dug for the purpose of procuring water, either fresh or salt.

"There are at least a thousand of these 'wells'; many of them are now more than twenty feet in depth. A great deal of curiosity has been excited, as to the objects sought for by the people who dug these holes. One gentleman nearly ruined himself by digging in and about these works, in quest of the precious metals; but he found nothing very precious. I have been at the pains to obtain specimens of all the minerals, in and near these wells. They have not all of them been put to proper tests; but I can say, that rock crystals, some of them very beautiful, and horn stone, suitable for arrow and spear heads, and a little lead, sulphur, and iron, was all that I could ascertain correctly to belong to the specimens in my possession. Rock crystals, and stone arrow and spear heads, were in great repute among them, if we are to judge from the numbers of them found in such of the mounds as were common cemeteries. To a rude people, nothing would stand a better chance of being esteemed, as an ornament, than such articles.

"On the whole, I am of the opinion, that these holes were dug for the purpose of procuring the articles above named; and that it is highly probable a vast population, once here, procured these, in their estimation, highly ornamental and useful articles. And it is possible that they might have procured some lead here, though by no means probable, because we nowhere find any lead which ever belonged to them, and it will not very soon, like iron, become an oxide, by rusting."

In 1836 the first geological survey of Ohio was published, in which Dr. Hildreth calls attention to the flint quarries in Ohio and comments on their great extent, beginning in Jackson County and extending north to Muskingum County, and calls the flint a calcareo-silicious formation.

Mr. J. S. Newberry, Chief Geologist of the Ohio Geological Survey, in discussing the carboniferous system in Ohio comments at some length concerning the famous Flint Ridge:*

"The origin of the silex in these flinty limestones has never been satisfactorily explained. It has sometimes been attributed to hot springs, of which the water contained much silica, but the general distribution of the flint and the immense number of fossils sometimes contained in it, seemed to me insurmountable objections to this view. It appears to me more probable that the silica was derived from microscopic organisms, such as the diatoms. It is well known that at the present time very extensive deposits of silicious earth ('infusorial earth') are being made in our lakes and lagoons. These are frequently associated with shell marl and sometimes bog iron ore. In the Tertiary age, even more extensive beds of diatomaceous silica were formed than any belonging to the present age yet discovered, the polishing slate of Bilin, ('tripoli'), Monterey, and Nevada 'infusorial earths,' etc. In the older formations no such strata are found, and yet it is hardly probable that the low forms of life from which these beds of silica are derived are of modern date. From some experiments recently made by Mr. Henry Newton at my request, we learn that the silicious shields of diatoms are more soluble than almost any other form of silica known, and it seems to me quite possible that in the older diatomaceous earths the individual forms have disappeared by solution, and the mass has been converted into compact amorphous silica, such as we find in our beds of chert. I would, therefore, suggest that in many parts of the lagoons which, from time to time, occupied the coal area, the shields of diatoms accumulated in beds of considerable thickness, and these, now blended and consolidated by solution, form our Coal Measure buhr-stones.

"In this view, the wide diffusion of the silica and its blending with and shading into purer limestone as though deposited in the quieter nooks of the broad lagoon, its association with fossils and iron, are all harmonious and confirmatory facts. If hot springs had furnished the silica, we should be pretty certain

*Geological Survey of Ohio, Vol. 2, page 142-143.

to find it impregnating other strata than the limestone, and should probably find some masses or accumulations heaped up about the source of supply, but we have discovered nothing of the kind; and the careful observation of the facts in the case has convinced me that the silica, like the lime, is indigenous and not exotic, that is, that it accumulated particle by particle as a sediment at the bottom of water where it was slowly drawn from solution and fixed by some vital agency."

In 1878, Mr. M. C. Read, Special Assistant of the Geological Survey of Ohio, wrote the *Geology of Licking County*, (Geological Survey of Ohio, Vol. 3,) and I quote from his report as follows:

"The number of this series found on the summit of most of the hills in the south-east part of the county is the flint, which is ordinarily regarded as on the horizon of Coal No. 6, the Great Vein of Perry and Hocking counties, this coal being represented by the thin and worthless seam underlying the flint. I am disposed, however, to regard the flint as the equivalent of the 'Black Marble,' so-called, of Coshocton county—which has beneath it a thin seam of coal, and is found in places only ten or twelve feet below Coal No. 6—and the representative of the drab limestone of Columbiana county, often found directly beneath No. 6. In Coshocton county this 'Black Marble' often passes into a chert, as do all the limestones of that county, but none of them form so extensive and continuous deposits as the flint of Flint Ridge. Any one traversing this ridge for the first time would be surprised to find such a deposit on such a geological horizon. It simulates very accurately the broken-up debris of a vertical dike, the fragments often covered with perfect crystals of quartz, the rock itself being highly crystalline and often translucent. It is something of a puzzle to understand how such a deposit is found in a series of undisturbed and unmodified sedimentary rocks. The adjacent surfaces of two blocks of the chert are often found covered with quartz crystals of considerable size, as thoroughly interlocking with each other as if one were a cast, and the other the matrix. I cannot imagine conditions which would spread such a deposit over the floor of a sea or any other body of water. A substitution of silicious matter deposited from solution, in the place of a soluble limestone previously deposited, is the only plausible explanation. This substitution has taken place over large areas in this part of the State, and has left these silicious deposits only upon the horizons of the different limestones."

Mr. Read inserts as a foot-note the following:

"The question of the origin of the silica, which so often replaces the carbonate of lime in the Coal Measure limestones, is discussed at some length in Vol. 2 of this report, and it is there attributed to DIATOMS. These microscopic plants, as is well known, bear silicious frustules, which accumulate at the bottom of some lakes and ponds till they form beds many miles in extent and several feet in thickness. They probably inhabited portions of the shallow land-locked basins where the limestones were formed in such numbers as to supply silica for concretions or cherty layers, and sometimes to replace the calcareous bed entirely, just as we find the diatomaceous earths locally replacing shell-marl in the bottoms of our lakes and marshes. The silica which forms the frustules of the diatoms has been proved by experiment to be unusually soluble, and in the flint beds, the individual forms have doubtless been either so completely dissolved or so enveloped in soluble silica as to be lost. The quartz crystals referred to by Mr. Read as coating the blocks and filling the crevices and cavities of the flint, are evidently of modern origin, and have been formed by a deposit of silica, from solution, in whatever receptacles were open to it."

Mr. Wilbur Stout in his *Geology of Muskingum County*, (Bulletin No. 21, Geological Survey of Ohio), assigns the Flint Ridge flint to the horizon of the ferriferous limestone. I quote from Mr. Stout's report at length, as he covers the geological phenomena of Flint Ridge:

"In ascending order the important rock stratum above the Clarion coal is the Ferriferous or Vanport limestone, which is also often called Gray limestone owing to its color. This member is not persistent and is variable in character in the western part of Muskingum County where the bed is above cover. However, the scattered deposits of this member may be followed with some certainty from Perry County on the south into Coshocton County on the north. From Perry County it may be traced southward to the large and important field in Vinton, Jackson, Gallia, Scioto, and Lawrence counties, where it has characteristic development and excellent continuity. Owing to many wants in deposition and to rapid changes in character the bed is followed with more difficulty from Coshocton County northeastward to Mahoning and Columbiana counties where it again has good volume, and from where it has been directly traced into Lawrence and Beaver counties, Pennsylvania.

"Two well-defined phases of the Ferriferous member are present in Muskingum County. In most of the county the upper phase is a bed of rather pure flint or limestone, in many places several feet in thickness. The flint is best represented by the massive stratum that extends along Flint Ridge from Poverty Run in Hopewell Township, Muskingum County, to the Porter School in Franklin Township, Licking County. Dr. Orton assigned this rock to the horizon of the Ferriferous limestone.*

"Miss Clara Gould Mark also assigns the flint to this horizon. In 1916-17 the members of this Survey traced the stratum by stringers of flint and impure limestone to Bairds Furnace, Hocking County, where the member is a true limestone, definitely known to be correlative with the more massive and persistent Ferriferous beds of southern Ohio. Further, in its extension northward from Flint Ridge, Muskingum County, the stratum undergoes many changes, as it may be represented by thin local beds of flint, or by flint and limestone, or by limestone alone. Along the ridge known as the Highlands, in Cass Township, the horizon is marked locally by a thick bed of gray limestone very similar to that present in southern Ohio. North of this, along Graham Ridge, in Coshocton County, thin beds of flint again appear, and near Warsaw local deposits of impure limestone were observed. Similar conditions were noted in parts of Tuscarawas County. Although local, variable, and scattered, the deposits of this flinty phase in Muskingum County are sufficiently pronounced to be followed with certainty, and in the opinion of the writer they are correlative with the Ferriferous limestone of eastern and southern Ohio."

"The flint beds of the Ferriferous member in Hopewell and Franklin townships of Licking County are the largest in Ohio, and were extensively worked by the aborigines, who dug hundreds of pits along Flint Ridge in the mining of this material. The stratum was evidently worked for a long period, and the material, identified by its characteristic fossils, is widely distributed. Much of the flint chipped into arrows, knives, scrapers, etc., and found in the burial mounds and earthworks of the mound builders, as well as that similarly worked and found on the surface in this and adjoining states, is from Flint Ridge. The field is of exceptional interest both to the geologist and archæologist. The outcrop measurements indicate that the light-colored bed of flint is from 1 to 10 feet in thickness, and that it averages about 5 or 6 feet. This stratum is directly bedded on the shaly limestone, the thickness of which, from surface indications, is from 5 to 20 feet, or even more. Owing to

*Geol. Survey Ohio, Vol. V. p. 870.

the slumping of the flint and to the nature of the covering no good sections of the entire interval were obtained.

“Along the ridge at the head of Berry Run, in Hopewell Township, the light flint is massive, and varies from 3 to 10 feet in thickness. The bed was mined by the aborigines more extensively in this locality than on either the western or eastern part of the ridge. A section taken in a ravine east of the cross-roads follows:

		Ft.	In.
Flint, light	} Ferriferous {	5	..
Limestone, thin to medium bedded, shaly.		7	..
Covered		32	..
Sandstone, parts covered		32	..
Shale		1	..
Sandstone		23	..
Shale, calcareous, with shaly limestone.	} Lower Mercer {	1	..
Limestone, dark siliceous .....		..	8
Shales, calcareous, with shaly limestone.		5	..
Limestone, hard		3	6
Shale .....		..	2
Limestone, hard		1	8

“In this locality the light-colored flint or upper phase of the Ferriferous member is bedded on the shaly limestone or lower phase. No separation, except an irregular bedding plane, is evident, thus suggesting that both rocks were laid down during the same general deposition period. In the above section the interval between the Ferriferous member and the Lower Mercer limestone is about normal for the region.”

ECONOMIC VALUE OF THE FERRIFEROUS LIMESTONE AND FLINT.

“The great value to the aborigines of the flint beds of the Ferriferous member in Muskingum County, and also in Licking County, is attested by the large quantities of earth and rocks mined in the excavation of the hundreds of pits scattered along Flint Ridge and along its spurs. This Flint was certainly held in high esteem by these ancient people, who used it in the manufacture of implements for domestic purposes, for hunting, and for war. Arrows, knives, skinners, scrapers, hoes, and drills made of flint from this locality, and recognized by the remains, are scattered over a wide area in the Ohio Valley and in the Lake Erie region. Their method of quarrying the flint and of shaping the implements is a subject of interest, but it belongs more to the province of archæology than to that of present-day geology and hence needs no further discussion here.”

CHEMICAL ANALYSIS OF THE FLINT.

"The chemical as well as the physical properties of the light-colored flint on Flint Ridge are such that the material may be utilized for the manufacture of silica brick or for potter's flint of white ware bodies. The deposit along the main ridge for a distance of more than 5 miles was sampled by taking pieces thrown out of the pits excavated by the aborigines. This sample weighing more than 100 pounds was properly crushed and prepared for analysis. The chemical work was done by Prof. D. J. Demorest, who reports the following results:

Silicia, SiO_2	96.40
Alumina, Al_2O_3	1.52
Ferric oxide, Fe_2O_3 .....	.48
Lime, CaO} .....	.30
Magnesia, MgO} .....	.04
Water, comb., H_2O	1.20
	<hr/>
	99.94

CHARACTER AND ORIGIN OF THE FLINT.

I have given the view of Newberry as to the origin of the flint at Flint Ridge, which he attributes to diatomaceous plants, a view acquiesced in by Mr. Read, who wrote the Geology of Licking County, 1878. Mr. Stout gives three views as to the possible origin of the flint at Flint Ridge, and I quote from his report:

"The flint in the black layers is very solid and dense except for small cavities, which are irregularly spaced and frequently lined with transparent quartz crystals. The gray flint is also solid, and has a banded and somewhat mottled appearance, probably due to original deposition, and the analysis shows it to be anhydrous or nearly so. The coal formation flints seldom contain more than 2 per cent of water. Flint has a hardness comparable with that of quartz, and it breaks with a deep conchoidal fracture, the perfection of which depends on the texture of the material. This characteristic fracture is much more evident in the compact, vitreous varieties than in the more porous, grainy types which are mixtures of amorphous silica and quartz sand or calcareous or argillaceous material. It varies from nearly transparent to coal-black, and from the strikingly mottled or banded types to those traversed by small veins of different colored material of later formation.

"Three views are tenable as to the origin of the flints associated with the limestones or stratified on the horizons of these rocks:

“(a) That the flint was formed by direct precipitation of the siliceous matter by silica-secreting organisms.

“(b) That the flint was the resultant of chemical action of soluble silica and other components in the sea water upon the calcium carbonate of newly formed limestone. In this case the change took place while the limestone was forming or while it was yet under the direct influence of the salt brines.

“(c) That circulating ground waters, charged with siliceous and organic components which acted upon limestone deposited under normal conditions and buried by later sediments, slowly removed the calcium carbonate and deposited silica in its place. This action began as soon as the beds were covered by other material and is still effective. Under this condition the flint is entirely of secondary origin.

“In regard to the first view, it is necessary to account for large quantities of soluble silica and a means of precipitating it. The flint beds found in the coal formations of Muskingum County are directly associated with limestones, or more often occur on the horizons of these rocks. Judging from fossil and other evidence, these limestones are of organic origin and were laid down in shallow basins of the sea. The natural inference is, therefore, that the flint has a similar derivation. Some of the low forms of life, such as radiolaria, sponges, and diatoms, which inhabit both fresh and salt water, secrete silica. Such material secreted by an organism is hydrous and glassy and is readily dissolved by waters containing carbonates of the alkalis or alkaline earths. Carbon dioxide from a living or a decaying organism, however, readily precipitates this silica. It is also thrown down by hydrolysis in the presence of weak acids such as may occur from decaying organic matter. The rocks on these flint horizons show that a profusion of life existed in these early seas, a part of which was evidently silica-secreting, and the presence, or rather decay, of which would produce conditions often favorable for the direct deposition of silica.

“Some of the flint deposits in the coal formations of Muskingum, Perry, and Coshocton counties suggest such an origin. The material is very free from calcium and magnesium carbonates, has the mottling characteristic of gelatinous precipitates, and shows no distinct nuclei attending concretionary growths. Further, the relation of flint beds to limestone strata in some localities is also of interest. As noted in some of the preceding sections, a flint layer may lie either directly above or directly below a limestone which is very free from flinty material. Laterally the rocks often pass in a regular way from limestone or from sandstone to flint in about the same way as shale to sandstone

or carbonaceous shale to coal. Flint deposits are also nearly as abundant in the Pottsville and Allegheny formations of this area as limestone deposits. With varying conditions in these shallow seas where both siliceous and calcareous matter are being secreted, flint should result as one extreme and limestone as the other.

"The second view is closely related to the first, but it differs in that soluble silica replaces the calcium carbonate of newly formed sediments. As shown by several writers, the replacement of the calcium carbonate of shells, corals, etc., by silica is easily effected. The most favorable conditions would be where both silica and calcium carbonate are being secreted contemporaneously by organic life. Such silica is very soluble and the calcium carbonate is in a state which can be readily attacked, thus making replacement easy. The alkalinity and pressure of the water also aid in this work. The waters of these ancient seas contained a profusion of both plant and animal life, secreting either silica or calcium carbonate; they were warm, owing to the shallow depth and to the prevailing climate, and were partially saturated with mineral and organic components which aid in chemical action, all of which conditions favored replacement changes attending deposition.

"Such an origin appears plausible for some of the flint strata in the coal formations of this area. In a certain bed, as the Upper Mercer, for instance, flint may be overlain by limestone or limestone by flint, or the two may occur in almost any proportion. Substitutions are apparent, but it is difficult to determine whether they took place during the early period of formation or during a later period by the action of circulating waters. The deposits are intermediate stages between a limestone and a flint. The limestones on these horizons are everywhere fossiliferous and, as would be expected, the flints contain the same fossils, although they are less abundant and less delicately preserved, with the possible exception of the *FUSULINA* and other small types. The state of the fossils indicates alteration changes. The flint in local areas has a banded and orbicular structure which shows secondary arrangement of the matter. Replacements in many of these beds are evident, but it is uncertain how much is to be accredited to the early stages of formation and how much to the later.

"Taking the third view next into consideration, the original rock is a regularly deposited limestone covered by later sediments. Circulating ground waters holding soluble silica and organic components in solution attack the limestone, taking calcium carbonate into solution and depositing silica in its place.

The flints are thus of secondary origin. The chemical action involved is the same as it is in the second case, except that it is performed through the medium of circulating ground waters in place of salt brines. The change is effected under less favorable conditions, but the force is operative over a longer time interval. The action began with the covering of the bed by later sediments and is still effective. The question is whether the action of ground waters is sufficient to change thick beds of limestone extending over wide areas to strata of flint. On the Boggs horizon the flint is from a few inches to 1 foot 6 inches thick, and is rather local; on the Upper Mercer horizon the volume varies from 1 foot to more than 10 feet, and it is very persistent over a wide area, and on the Ferriferous horizon it varies from a few inches to 10 feet, and is often continuous for several miles. The variation in the character of these members is shown under the discussion of their stratigraphy.

"The work of ground waters in effecting the solution of one component and the substitution of another is well known, and this action accounts for the nodules of flint in many of the massive limestone and chalk beds. It is a question, however, as to whether this accounts for the origin of the thick beds of flint in the coal formations of this area. Where the section was measured on the Lee Moore farm in Jefferson Township, Coshocton County, the lower layer is composed of irregular masses of relatively pure flint and limestone which are distinctly separated, but with the flint constituting the greater part. Replacement of calcium carbonate by silica is strongly suggested. Above this layer, there is 11 feet of thin to medium-bedded shaly limestone containing practically no flint, and directly overlying this shaly limestone there are two layers of flint which are only slightly calcareous at most, and which contain no large irregular masses of limestone. If these two beds were originally limestone the transformation from limestone to flint has been quite complete. The series thus shows limestone beds lying between flint strata. If these flint beds were formed through the action of circulating waters on limestone, subsequent to the formation of the entire deposit, then the limestones occupying the middle of the deposit should also show evidence of the same influence, which is not the case. The structure of the deposit, therefore, seems to show that these rocks were laid down in about the same condition as that in which they are now found."

MEANS OF IDENTIFICATION OF FLINT.

Flint objects found upon the surface of practically every portion of Ohio are very often difficult to identify as to source.

The flint from Flint Ridge varies greatly in different parts of the deposit, but in the region of the pits the flint is very compact, almost free from impurities, and possesses all the colors and shades found in flint. Much of the flint is blue or a grayish-blue translucent chalcedony. In some places a glassy variety is found in connection with the grayish-blue variety and ranges from almost perfect transparency to complete opacity. In another section jasper predominates, with a wide range of color from dark red through the various shades of yellow; also a banded, or ribbon variety, with alternating stripes of light and dark gray, brown and black.

In the central part of the great pit region southeast of Clark's blacksmith-shop the flint has practically all been removed from its bed, and here is found the most beautiful of the various colored chalcedony showing the tints of blue, red, green, purple, brown, yellow and white.

A careful examination of specimens of flint collected from the various quarrying sites and the workshops is a necessary aid in identifying the flint after it has been made into objects by primitive man and carried to remote places.

In 1898 the writer undertook a microscopical study of the flint from Flint Ridge with a view of determining the original home of flint specimens found upon the surface in practically every part of the state, as well as specimens taken from mounds and village sites. More than 100 thin sections were made and studied. The specimens from which the thin sections were cut were secured from pits where the flint was quarried and from the workshops nearby. Thin sections of flint from other known quarries in the United States and Europe were made for comparison. The microscopic thin sections from the Flint Ridge flint proved of special interest and value as a means of identification, as many forms of siliceous foraminifera as well as siliceous sponges were in evidence, which would readily identify the Flint Ridge flint.

Only a few of the microscopic thin sections from Flint Ridge show diatom fragments and a few show nothing definite in the way of fossils, but the general appearance of the compact

crypto-crystalline mass of chalcedonic silica as shown by the microscope was a great aid in determining the Flint Ridge flint when compared with flint from other sections.

QUARRYING

The primitive inhabitants of Ohio made use of various kinds of rocks found in the drift, where the agents of nature—the glacier and floods,—had with almost human discrimination deposited the tough granites and quartzites in convenient places for man to select and reduce to available size and form. But the flint, so highly prized for the manufacture of arrow and spear-heads, occurs only in well defined areas, where the outcrop was available and served as a guide to the location of the great deposit a few feet under the soil.

Quarrying the flint really begins with the removal of a fragment from the exposed mass or from the ground where it was partly buried. It is only a step further when the mass of the flint is uncovered, and the flint removed on a large scale.

EXTENT OF OPERATIONS.

The extent of quarry operations in the region where the valuable flint is found centers around the Cross Roads, three miles directly north of Brownsville and known as Clark's Blacksmith Shop. A circle with a diameter of one mile with the center at the cross-roads would enclose about all the sections quarried, and the extent of the quarried area within this circle would not exceed 100 acres. When we take into account that practically all of the flint used by the various cultures representing the prehistoric Indian in Ohio came from the Flint Ridge region, we can readily understand and appreciate the importance of territory quarried. All trails leading in the direction of Flint Ridge would end there, or in other words, Flint Ridge was the trailsend of the prehistoric Indian in Ohio. The accompanying map, Fig. 3A, indicates the general distribution of the flint deposit as well as the location of the quarries as indicated by excavations over the entire area.

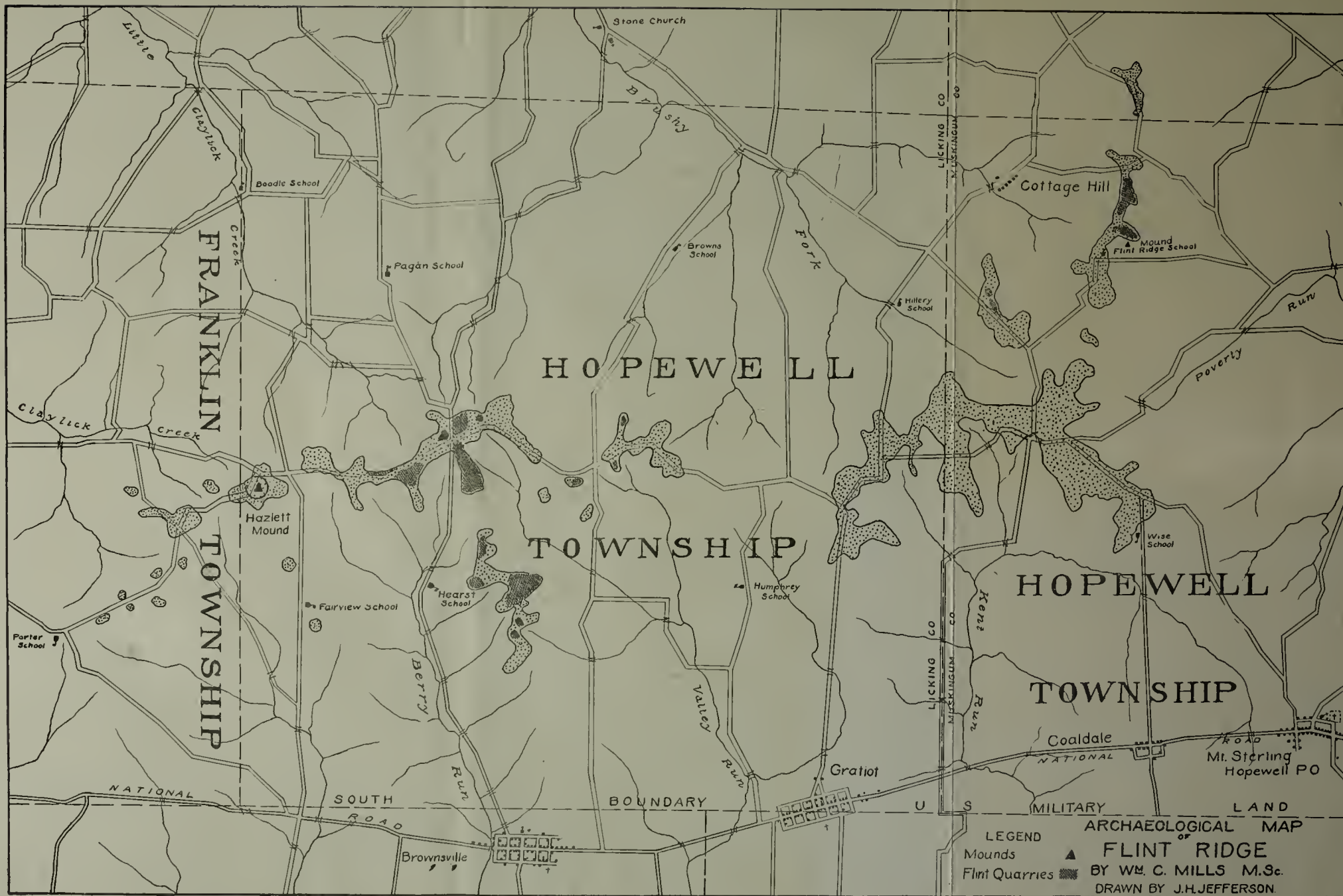


FIG. 3a.

THE FLINT STRATUM.

The flint stratum is very irregular in thickness and at no place examined did the flint exceed six feet in thickness, although other reports from various sections give a thickness varying from five to ten feet. Directly north of the cross-roads the stratum measures fully six feet, while following the pitted section due north to near the edge or outcrop, the depth of the flint measures only eighteen inches, and the top and bottom of the deposit become very irregular and more or less nodular in form. The weathering out of small fossils and calcite crystals, which appear in great abundance near the margins, makes the flint appear cellular or porous in structure. This condition prevails in the greater bulk of the flint found on the ridge. Consequently prehistoric man discovered that the greater part of the flint was of no value for the manufacture of artifacts and accordingly concentrated his efforts upon the material that would best meet his requirements. This was limited to two sections; namely, the region of the cross-roads, three miles north of Brownsville, Licking County, and the region of the Flint Ridge School, Hopewell Township, Muskingum County. The territory quarried over in these two sections would perhaps not exceed 100 acres in extent.

METHOD OF QUARRYING.

After our examination of many of the quarries upon the "Ridge" the most striking and marvelous phenomenon is that the aborigines ever accomplished the removal of such a thick stratum of flint over a so comparatively large area. Only those who have ventured to remove the flint from its natural bed with modern tools can appreciate the skill and perseverance necessary in wresting from nature the flint needed in fashioning the many artifacts, with such primitive tools. These tools are found in abundance over the entire site and in many instances where the ancient quarryman had left them.

Mr. Gerard Fowke, while in the employ of the Bureau of Ethnology, made a systematic study of "Flint Ridge" and his report appears in the annual report of the Smithsonian Institu-

tion for 1884, and in his work entitled the "Archæological History of Ohio" published in 1902. Mr. Fowke spent much time in a personal examination of the entire "Ridge" and his recorded observations on the method of quarrying the flint are of especial interest and value. I quote from his report to the Bureau of Ethnology, published in Smithsonian Report, 1884, page 864:

"How these ancients knew where to find the best flint for their purposes, unless indeed these sites were chosen at random, cannot be told. It also remains a question as to how the flint was quarried after its location was determined. No doubt a thorough examination of some of these pits will throw much light upon the methods in use among them for obtaining the raw material."

Quoting further from the same report, page 867:

"The aborigines (meaning thereby Indians, Mound Builders, or whatever other name may be assigned to the people who did this work) knew that by digging into the unweathered bed-rock a quality of flint could be obtained better suited to their purposes than that which could be procured along the outcrop. The dirt was cleared away, by being carried out in baskets or skins, until the flint was exposed. Cleaning out a space sufficient for working purposes, a fire was built on top of the rock, and when it was heated water was thrown on it. This would cause the rock to crumble, and on clearing out the fragments a fresh surface of flint would be exposed around the hole thus made in it, from which pieces could be broken off with the large boulders found in the vicinity. A question presents itself here, 'If this method was used, why did they not follow the flint stratum, once they had found it, throwing the dirt behind them, instead of opening so many fresh holes?' The only answer to be given is that they did not, except in a few instances, and that is all we know about it."

Later, Mr. Fowke in his book "Archæological History of Ohio", page 622, goes into detail concerning the quarrying of the flint by the use of fire:

"The pit taken as an illustration was at least forty yards from the one nearest to it; it was thirty-two feet in diameter inside of the wall of earth surrounding it, which wall is now two feet higher than the general surface around it, and from twenty to thirty feet across at the base. This form indicates

considerable age; as does an oak tree nearly ten feet in circumference, growing on the top of the wall. In clearing out this pit we could appreciate the patience and industry of the aboriginal excavators. The clay subsoil was as hard and tough as frozen ground; frequently half a dozen blows with a pick were required to break off a clod as large as a man's hand. To remove it with primitive tools seems almost an impossibility. The central part of the pit was filled with material that had washed in from the sides. Several days of steady digging were required, by three men accustomed to such work, to reach the surface of the flint stratum, which was found at a depth of nine feet. A hole five by eight and one-half feet had been worked through; clearing this out, we found the layer to be forty inches thick. It rested directly upon a solid bluish limestone. Both the flint and the limestone showed that they had been subjected to an intense heat. The flint was very solid where not burnt, translucent, and a beautiful light-blue in color. On its top, on a corner formed by two seams, was a saucer-shaped depression between three and four inches deep, in the bottom of which was a handful of very fine chips; just such as would result from repeated blows with a large hammer-stone, several of which were found scattered through the entire depth cleared out. One of them weighed nearly or quite a hundred pounds.

"Careful observation of this pit—and others as well—enables us to follow the prehistoric quarryman in his labors. He selected a spot where he thought the superincumbent earth not heavy enough to render the task of removing it too tedious, but at the same time was of ample thickness to prevent injury to the stone from weathering. He then sunk a pit, as large as he wished, to the surface of the flint. On this he made a fire; and when the stone was hot he threw water on it, causing it to shatter. Throwing aside the fragments, he repeated the process until he penetrated the underlying limestone to a depth which allowed him sufficient room to work conveniently. The top and freshly made face of the flint was thickly plastered with potter's clay, after which fire and water were again utilized for clearing away the limestone until a cavity was formed beneath the flint layer. Thus a projecting ledge would be left, from which the burnt parts were knocked off with heavy stone hammers until the unaltered flint was exposed; in the same manner, blocks of this were procured for converting into implements. Where the flint was well suited for the purpose intended, or was easily worked, the excavation was carried along in the form of a trench, the waste material being thrown to the rear; under less favorable conditions the spot was abandoned."

Our examination of the quarries upon Flint Ridge, made with a view of ascertaining the method of quarrying, does not bear out and verify the findings of Mr. Fowke concerning the use of fire as an operating agent. On the other hand, the evidence found concerning the use of fire as an agent in quarrying the flint was purely negative, and I doubt very much if fire was used at all as an aid in removing the flint from its natural bed. I will go into detail concerning several of the sites examined, quoting from my field notes made at the time of the excavations.

After a general examination of the "Ridge" in company with my assistant, Mr. Shetrone, we marked a number of places for examination, and this plan was systematically carried out. The first pit for examination was located in the woods north and east of the blacksmith-shop, about 300 feet north from the road running east from the cross-roads. The property is owned by a coal company with headquarters at Newark, and is under the direct supervision of Attorney R. E. Jones, who aided us in every way to make our work successful.

The pit was selected with a view of finding the full vertical ledge of flint exposed as the aboriginal quarryman had left it. In this we were partly successful, the vertical ledge of flint measuring three feet and seven inches, while one foot and eleven inches of flint had been removed from the top surface for a space of six feet by eight feet. The flint on the top appears in nodular-like flat masses, from two to three and one-half feet in diameter, and the ancient quarryman, taking advantage of the seams between the nodules, was able to work downward until the more desirable flint was exposed. The top of this quarry was covered with about seven inches of soil, accumulated during the more than a century since the early settler came to occupy the land. The top surface of the quarry was more or less irregular, caused by the early quarryman following the cracks or seams, or the lines of least resistance in his operations. Not the slightest indication was found in this quarry to show that fire had been used to supplement the hammerstones, several of which, varying in size from about a pound to one weighing upward of twenty-five pounds, were found in the pit. The hammerstones were made of granite and quartzite.

General indications shows that wedges, perhaps made of wood or horn, were used in dislodging the desired pieces of flint.

Fig. 4 shows the face of the quarry where the flint is three feet and seven inches in thickness. On the top of the flint lies a large hammerstone of granite, weighing about twenty-five pounds, which was found at the bottom of the pit. A close inspection of this cut will show the cracks and seams found in the flint, which we later quarried out to ascertain why this part of the stratum had not been utilized. We followed the seams, using iron wedges instead of wood and iron hammers instead of stone, and thus were able to effect our purpose. The flint was found to be practically worthless for making into artifacts, and the entire mass of three feet and seven inches in vertical height, two feet in thickness, and three to four feet in length would have been quarried out and cast aside in order to carry forward the quarrying operations, with a vertical wall or nearly so to work from. The ancient quarryman apparently did not perform such arduous labor to secure the coveted flint unless absolutely necessary, as was found to be true in many of the quarries examined in the various sections of "Flint Ridge".

We also quarried samples of the good flint exposed on the top of this quarry and found the prevailing color to be a light blue-gray, translucent in thin sections, but frequently varying in color from a deep red and yellow with shades of lilac. In many instances, seams of translucent chalcedony extended into the mass of the flint, sometimes only about one-eighth of an inch apart, giving the flint the appearance of banded agate. However, this banded flint when struck with a heavy hammer would separate into needle-like forms which made the flint worthless as far as primitive man was concerned. The lilac-colored flint from this quarry was often filled with very small geodes of quartz crystals, which did not greatly interfere with its use as implement-making material.

Adjoining the lilac-colored flint was a slightly yellow-colored flint containing much chalcedony and larger clusters of quartz crystals. The ancient quarryman had uncovered a cluster more than six inches in diameter, the crystals ranging in size up to one-half inch in diameter, colored a light amethyst, and very



FIG. 4. Face of quarry showing the flint to be three feet, seven inches
in thickness
(110)

beautiful. Another very interesting deposit of flint, known as the brecciated form, was found in the highly colored red flint in this quarry. These deposits are not much larger than a man's fist, are usually oblong in general form, and are made up of small angular fragments of flint which seem to have been held in suspension in clear or slightly colored chalcedony.

After the work of examination of Pit No. 1 was completed, a good opportunity to try the experiment of quarrying by the use of fire presented itself, for here was the bed of flint uncovered and an abundance of dry wood at hand. The fire was kindled, and was kept burning for two hours, producing an intense heat on the underlying face of the flint. The fire was then removed and two buckets of cold water were thrown upon the surface. I fully expected the flint to break in large pieces, but it merely checked and cracked into small pieces to the depth of perhaps half an inch. After the conclusion of this experiment it was apparent that fire as a direct agent in the quarrying of flint was perhaps not effective. In this connection I may state that at no time during the examination of more than twenty-five of the pits and quarries in this section was there evidence of the use of fire in the quarrying of flint. In several instances small amounts of charcoal were found in the pits, but so sparingly as to indicate that fire was in use around the quarry but not as a direct agent in quarrying the flint.

The next quarry of special interest was No. 3. This quarry is located, not far from the outcrop along the cleared field on the Coal Company's property, perhaps a little more than half a mile directly north-east from the blacksmith-shop. The pit was seventeen feet long and fifteen feet wide, and at no point in the quarry had the bottom of the flint been reached. Near the center of the quarry, to the west, a projection of flint extended almost across the quarry. Examination showed that the deposit was a very compact variety of yellow flint, practically devoid of seams, which baffled our own efforts at quarrying with our modern chisels and hammers. We were very desirous of securing large samples of this highly-colored flint, and preparing the stone for a charge of dynamite, were able to secure good specimens of both yellows and reds. Many instances exist on the

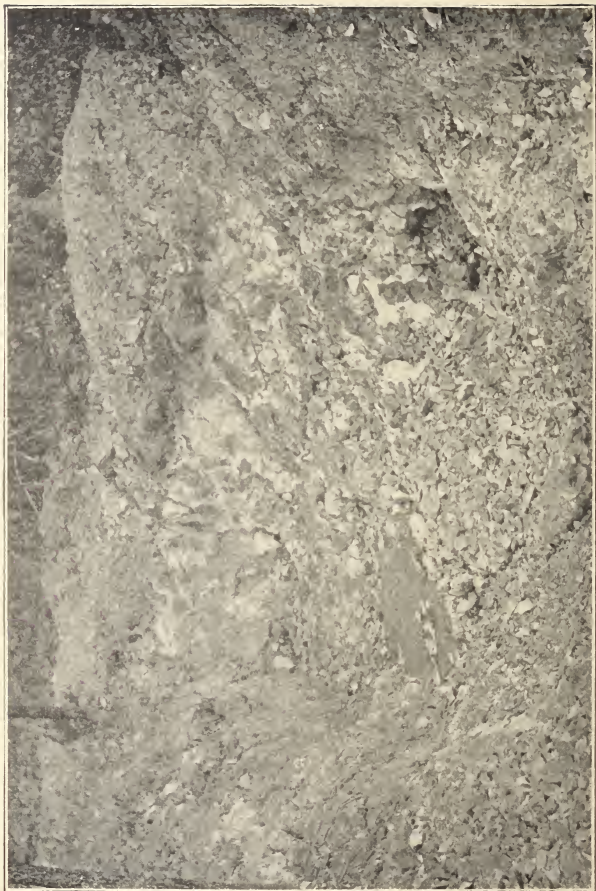


FIG. 5. Shows the quarrying of the flint from the top. At no place was the flint entirely removed.

"Ridge" where the ancient quarryman was compelled to abandon the removal of fine flint, owing to the absence of cracks or other defects which would enable him to work through to the base of the deposit, and thus gain a vantage point for further procedure. Our blast removed the flint for about two feet in depth and it apparently had the same consistency throughout.

This quarry is shown in Fig. 5. The projection of flint which the aborigines could not detach, and that portion of the quarry directly to the north, are shown. The flint was quarried from the top and shows many places where cracks were followed and the flint removed. Fire was not made use of, as no charcoal or other indications of heat were present. This quarry was noted for its highly-colored flint, both red and yellow, and the number of hammers, large and small, found on its floor.

Pit No. 4, shown in Fig. 6, is of special interest, as the flint is exposed on two sides of the pit, for a distance of almost six feet. Cracks in the flint are quite noticeable. The crack appearing at the angle of the two walls is quite large and evidently the face of the exposed wall follows this crack. The quarryman at this point worked from beneath. He found the lower stratum of flint could be detached something like limestone, as evidenced by the finding of slabs of flint a few inches thick and eighteen inches across, while in another quarry nearby slabs of flint that had been quarried from the bed but not removed, measured three feet in diameter and two and one-half inches thick. The flint offering the least resistance to detachment seemed to be at the bottom of this quarry. This flint was of practically no use to primitive man but by its removal he was able to reach the good flint which, in this instance, is practically in the center of the ledge. Many large single crystals of quartz, measuring from three-fourth inch to one inch in diameter were found in the debris of the pit, and some very large geodes of large-size quartz crystals lay near the bottom of the quarry. Large pieces of rock-crystal were found in the workshops not far from this region and we have in the museum a single crystal three and one-half inches in diameter and five inches long, secured and presented by Miss Clara G. Mark. Miss Mark obtained the specimen, which

was reported found on Flint Ridge, while making a study of the region. With the surface finds of large pieces of rock crystal, it would not be unreasonable to expect to find very large crystals or masses of rock crystal, in future quarrying of the flint.



FIG. 6. Pit in which flint is exposed on two sides.

Pit No. 8 was an excellent example of quarrying from the top of the ledge. The pit is located about 200 yards from pit No. 4, further within the woods of Mrs. Loughman's farm. The pit was quarried from the east and extended into the solid flint eight feet with a width of seven feet. Here was a very good opportunity to clear out the quarry and take note of the

three exposed sides. It was soon discovered that the quarryman was guided by two cracks in the flint running east and west and about seven feet apart. On the north side the crack was two and one-half inches wide and on the south a scant two inches wide. In the north-west corner of the quarry was a large piece of flint, measuring three feet long and almost two feet thick that had been broken loose when the rents split the rock. The break was caused by a large cavity in the flint filled with beautifully colored crystals of green, yellow and red. At this point a crack occurred north and south and was perhaps one-half inch wide. The flint was six feet in thickness and the cracks extended the entire depth of the flint. The flint, although very crystalline, was of good quality for making knives and arrows. The color was a light gray with blended shades of red and yellow and often certain sections would shade into a leek-green, very likely due to the presence of a trace of iron silicate.

The flint had all been quarried and removed from the pit and at no point at the base of the flint were there indications of quarrying under the mass. However, on the top of the west wall, the earth had been removed and the top of the flint quarried out in several places to the depth of perhaps a foot, showing that the quarrying was carried on from on top. Many broken and perfect hammer-stones of granite were in evidence in the quarry, but there was no indication of the use of fire.

Pit No. 9 is located in the Mary Loughman woods near the north line of her property and about 200 yards east of the northwest corner of the tract. The quarry was very much like No. 3, as the quarrying was all carried on from the top of the deposit and at no place in this quarry was the bottom of the flint exposed. A good photograph of this quarry is shown in Fig. 7. The quarry is fifteen feet long and twelve feet wide and the photo shows practically the entire pit as the primitive artisan had left it. The large mass of flint suitable for the making of artifacts is shown to the right in the photograph. The useless flint had been taken out from three sides and the photograph shows that the removal was under way when the quarry was abandoned. We removed the large block of flint, which



FIG. 7. Quarry showing the suitable flint for chipping exposed.

was of very good quality and practically devoid of the small drusy crystals so common in this quarry. The color of the flint is a light gray with a shading of purple, red and yellow. The block of flint shown to the left in Fig. 7 is a light drab in color and the crystals shown on its top are quite large, some of the individual crystals found broken from the clusters measuring three-fourths of an inch in diameter. Very little chalcedony is found in the flint left in the quarry, the flint which doubtless was of especial value because of its quality and abundance. The manner of quarrying is here best shown of any of the quarries uncovered.

Pit No. 14 was of great interest. It is situated in the east end of the Mary Loughman woods. The flint at this point is covered with a very light covering of earth. After the earth was removed from the flint it had the general appearance of a large flattened nodule ten feet in diameter. Primitive man had quarried off about one-third of the nodule, and found the center contained a very large crystal of heavy spar, light blue to yellow in color. We quarried out the crystal of heavy spar and found it to measure more than four feet in length, two feet wide and about fifteen inches in thickness. When first found the spar was perhaps a solid mass, but in time it became cracked, as shown in the cut, Fig. 8, with the exception of the center which was removed intact. Heavy spar, varying in color from lemon yellow to light blue is found in connection with workshops and apparently is associated with the flint in many of the quarries. Its use by primitive man is not apparent, as no artifacts made therefrom have been found in Ohio. Perhaps its extreme weight attracted the attention of the primitive quarryman.

In all twenty-five different quarry sites were examined in the vicinity of the cross-roads and no evidence was obtained showing that fire had been used as an agent in quarrying the flint.

The examination was extended to the eastern end of the "Ridge" in Muskingum County, where evidence of quarrying was found upon the farm of Mr. James Boyer. Mr. Boyer, like many of his neighbors, is a progressive farmer and all were



FIG. 8. Large crystal of heavy spar ranging in color from light blue to yellow. The crystal is shown in the center of the picture.

anxious to assist our survey in granting permission to examine quarry-sites on their respective farms, as well as by presenting specimens of flint found in the region. On Mr. Boyer's farm the quarrying is more extensive than anywhere in the vicinity. The flint is a light gray in general color, very often mottled with subdued gray and brown shading to dark brown.

A quarry-site located in Mr. Boyer's orchard was selected and a space fourteen feet long and six feet wide was removed to the depth of six and one-half feet, where we found the original bed of flint. Of this, about one foot remained in the quarry, except at the south side, where the entire bed had been removed, apparently by the same method of quarrying as was employed at the cross-roads in Licking County. The general blocking out was done at the quarry or along the hillside less than fifty feet away. At no point on the spur of the hill where the orchard is located is there an outcrop of the flint. Apparently the flint has all been quarried out and worked over and the refuse left at the quarry-site, as indicated by the five hundred or more cubic feet of broken pieces removed in the examination of this quarry. Practically no earth was mixed with the flint after the surface had been removed, insects of various kinds being found to the bottom of the quarry as well as the short-tailed shrew (*Blarina brevicauda*) which was found very frequently during our explorations. This small mole is truly insectivorous and had its habitat in the region where food was abundant.

In the woods north of the orchard on Mr. Boyer's farm is an outcrop of flint, the remains of an ancient quarry. The debris was cleared from this quarry, disclosing that the flint had been removed to the bottom. The perpendicular wall shown as an outcrop was one side of a large crack in the flint, extending almost perpendicular through four feet of the top of the deposit, then deflecting under the ledge. The flint had all been removed to this break in the deposit, and the work of removing the soil on the top preparatory to further quarrying was under way when the quarry was abandoned.

In all, thirty-three quarry sites were examined by the survey, — twenty-five in the region of the blacksmith shop located at the cross-roads, Licking County, and eight in the region of

Mr. Boyer's farm in Muskingum County — and all showed the same use of the hammers and mauls in quarrying the flint. Perhaps the hammers were used in conjunction with wedges made of wood and bone and these latter in connection with large and small wood pries or levers. However, the use of wedges and pries is only conjecture, as no direct evidence in the thirty-three quarry-sites was found to substantiate this assumption. However, we feel the primitive quarryman would use the simplest tools that would accomplish the desired results and that these would be wedges of wood and bone and pries both large and small of wood.

MANUFACTURE OF FLINT ARTIFACTS.

The first step toward the manufacture of flint artifacts is securing the raw material by quarrying and the first step in shaping this raw material, whether by breaking, flaking or chipping, by percussion or pressure, was the "roughing out" of blades and cores into convenient sizes. In this handy form they were transported to practically all sections of Ohio, where caches have been found in old village sites and in mounds.

As stated in the Introductory Note, perhaps the three well defined steps in the preparation of raw material noted would give rise to three separate industries carried on by the same individuals at different times or places or by different groups of experts trained in their respective industry.

The first industry was that of quarrying which has been fully described in the foregoing pages. The second industry was the blocking out of selected pieces of flint into general form and testing of the raw material before it is taken to the workshop. Very good examples of blocked-out flint are shown in Fig. 9. The blocked-out specimens found so abundantly at the "Ridge" range in length from twelve inches to three inches and in width from five inches to two inches. They are frequently found near the quarry but the largest numbers are found in the workshops where the blades are finished. When found near the quarry they are usually broken, showing that the piece of flint was defective. The blocking-out was perfected by the

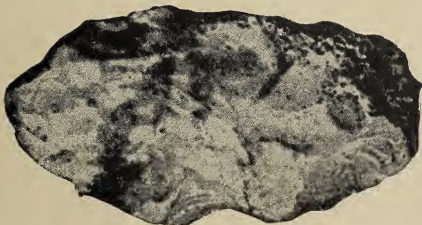
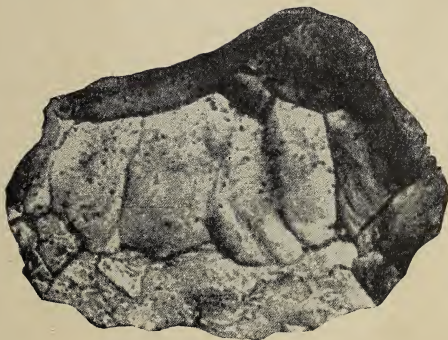
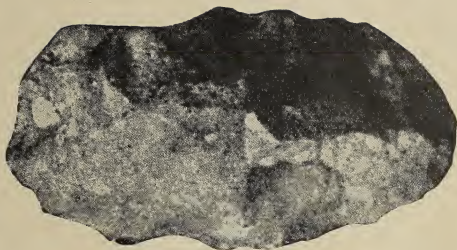


FIG. 9. Blocked out flint ready for the workshop.

use of hammers, very much smaller than those used in the heavy quarrying, and ranging in size from three and one-half inches to two and one-half inches in diameter. These were frequently found in the work-shops, but were more abundant in the region of the quarries (see Fig. 10). The hammers were made for the most part of granite, and had to be transported to the "Ridge". However, hammers made of flint were frequently found in the section surrounding the blacksmith shop, and were as abundant as the granite hammer in the Boyer section in Muskingum County. The hammers shown in Fig. 10 are made of granite, the specimens to the left and the one in the center being round and the specimen to the right a flattened cylinder. Fig. 11 shows six very choice hammers. No. 1, a highly con-

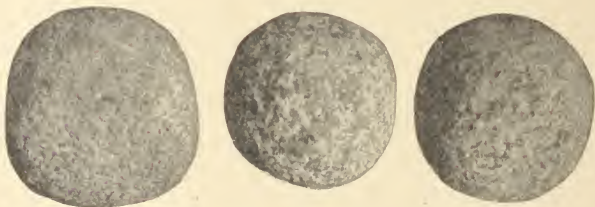


FIG. 10. Small hammerstones used in blocking out the flint.

ventionalized hammer, has the general appearance of a discoidal stone and is made of granite. No. 2 is a flattened cylinder made of flint. Nos. 3 and 6 are round, of granite. Nos. 4 and 5 are round and made of flint. During our entire exploration work upon the "Ridge" only one hammer with provision for the attachment of a handle was noted. This specimen was found by Mr. E. F. Fink, who owns a farm in the region of Mr. Boyer's, Muskingum County. The hammer is shown in Fig. 12. It is made like the cylindrical forms, with a deep groove for the attachment of a handle cut across the flat faces. In many sections of Ohio grooved hammers are very abundant and often rival the grooved axe in numbers. The question has often been asked by those interested in quarrying, why is the grooved

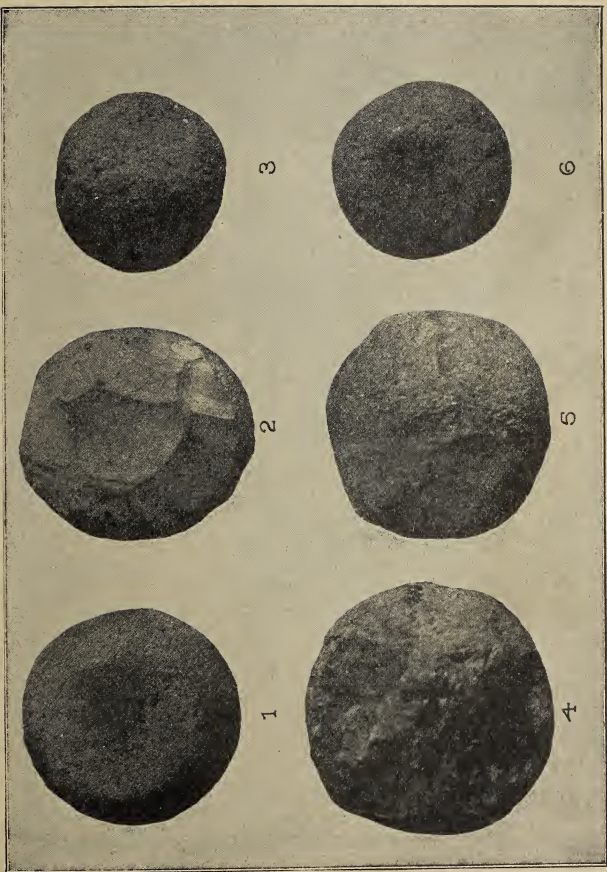


FIG. 11. Hammerstones made of granite and flint.

hammer absent from "Flint Ridge" when it is so universally used throughout Ohio, while at the aboriginal copper mines of Michigan large grooved hammers and mauls are often met with? The answer seems quite apparent when the mining of the copper is properly studied. The native copper was all the aboriginal miner was seeking, and very often the metal was surrounded with a very hard rock. All that was needed was to crush this rock with a hammer-blow that had back of it force and power, but not necessarily accuracy — a force which could be obtained only with a hammer attached to a handle. On the other hand,



FIG. 12. Hammerstone with a groove for the attachment of a handle.

the quarrying of the flint required force applied with accuracy, and the ancient quarryman learned that a hammer attached to a handle was not a very accurate way to apply force to the flint; but he did learn that force applied directly with a dexterous hand was what was needed in quarrying the flint. Afterward, in shaping the flint, he learned that the shaping by percussion required a certain size of hammer, that the blows from this hammer must be accurate or the specimen would surely be lost by breakage, and that the correct blow could only be delivered with the handleless hammer held in the hand.

The third industry connected with the manufacture of flint implements is the shaping of the blocked-out pieces into blades ready to be transported, with the smallest amount of superfluous flint, to distant parts of the country. The blades were all shaped in the workshops, which often were located in close proximity to the quarry, in many instances only a few hundred yards distant. On the other hand, the workshop might be several miles away; in fact both Licking and Muskingum Counties contain many sites of workshops. A very noted workshop is located a short distance north of Granville, showing that the blocked-out flint was carried some eighteen to twenty miles from the quarries.

The leaf-shaped blades manufactured in the workshops were of two types, the square base and the round base. The round-based blades were usually larger. A fine example of the round-base blade is shown in Fig. 13. The length of this blade is six and three-fourths inches and the width three and five-eighths inches. The square-based blade shown in Fig. 15 was found in a workshop some five or six miles from the quarry. Its length is six and seven-eighths inches and width three and one-eighth inches. These two specimens are excellent examples of the highest art in blade making and represent the average blades from which large spear points were manufactured. The blades are made in all sizes, ranging from the large size down to about two inches in length. From these blades all forms of arrow-points, spear-points, drills, knives and scrapers were made as needed by those living in remote places from the quarry.

Not all blank forms of flint brought to the workshops proved of value for making into blades, as many of the blanks have more or less obvious defects, some being excessively thick in some part while others are crooked or defective in general outline. Even in a perfect piece of flint, after the form had increased in tenuity the danger of breakage also increased, as shown in Fig. 16. In this figure, the square base form, the blade was practically complete, when an extra blow with the hammer rendered the piece worthless. In Fig. 17 is shown the round-base leaf-shaped broken blade, which was as common as the square base. The workshops show many broken blades.



FIG. 13. Round based blade of large size found in the workshops.

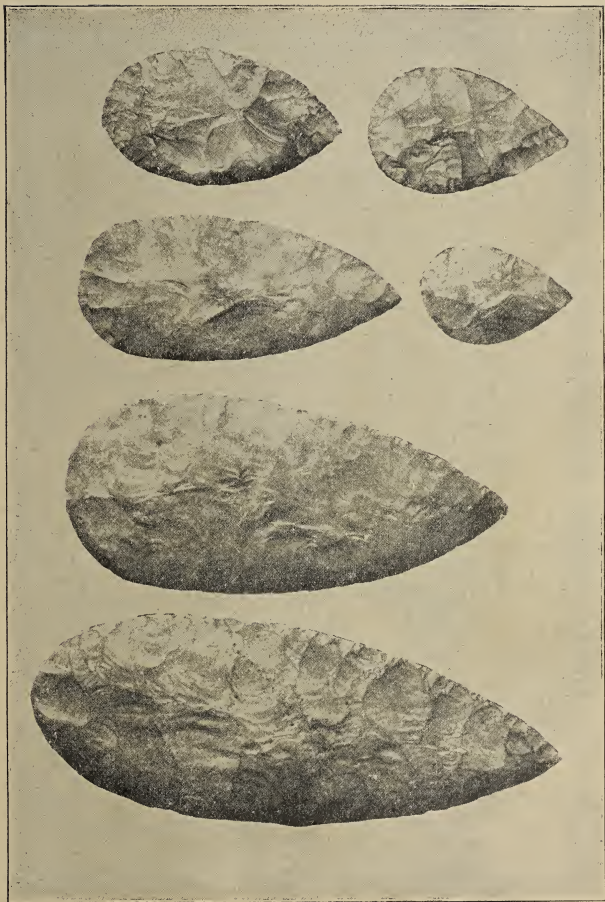


FIG. 14. Shows practically all of the various sizes of blades found in the workshops.



FIG. 15. Large square based blade found in a workshop some distance from the quarry.
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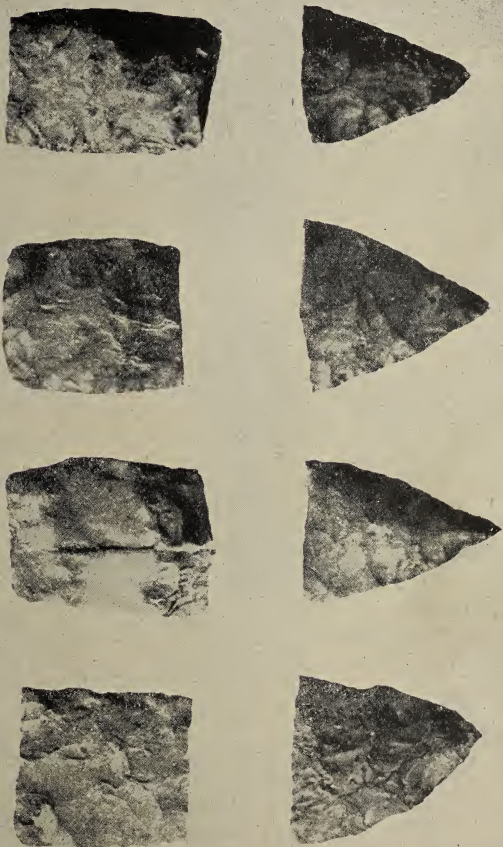


FIG. 16. Shows broken square based blades found in the workshops.



FIG. 17. Shows the round based broken blades found in the workshops.

In one workshop, south of the blacksmith shop along the Brownsville Road, the writer found upon the surface fifteen broken blades within a space of five feet by six feet, and I am safe in the assertion that many hundred broken blades may be found upon the surface in the workshops surrounding the region of the blacksmith shop.

In the process of shaping the blades, many eccentric forms are necessarily developed, due for the most part to defects in the flint itself or to the non-flakable quality of the flint found in conjunction with good flakable flint. Many of these forms are shown in Fig. 18. Specimens are often found showing that one side has reduced readily and given the proper convex surface, while the other side worked badly, giving a high hump attempts to remove which usually ended in breaking the piece.

The shaping-tool used in perfecting the leaf-shaped blades was no doubt the small hammer so abundantly found in the workshops. Good examples are shown in Nos. 3 and 6 in Fig. 11.

The second industry developed at Flint Ridge was the manufacture of cores from which knives were flaked. This industry was confined for the most part to the workshops south and southeast of the blacksmith shop. At no other point have many of the specimens been found, the form being considered rare when found outside of this region.

The cores are especially prepared flint blocks, so shaped that long flint knives can be flaked from the core. The flint used in making the cores is usually highly colored chalcedony, many of them showing various tints of blue, red, yellow, green and purple.

Excellent examples of cores are shown in Fig. 20. No. 1 core is made of lemon-yellow flint with splotches of bright red at the thick end. No. 2 is made of a purple flint with streaks of red running through one side. This core shows knives chipped from two sides. No. 3 is a very highly colored core. The top, as shown in the cut, is a very dark rose with a decisive change in color to green, and the green shading to yellow. The knife shown in No. 4 was flaked from this core, fits nicely upon it and is the first instance of finding the knife and then the



FIG. 18. Showing defects in the flint which makes the flint undesirable for chipping.

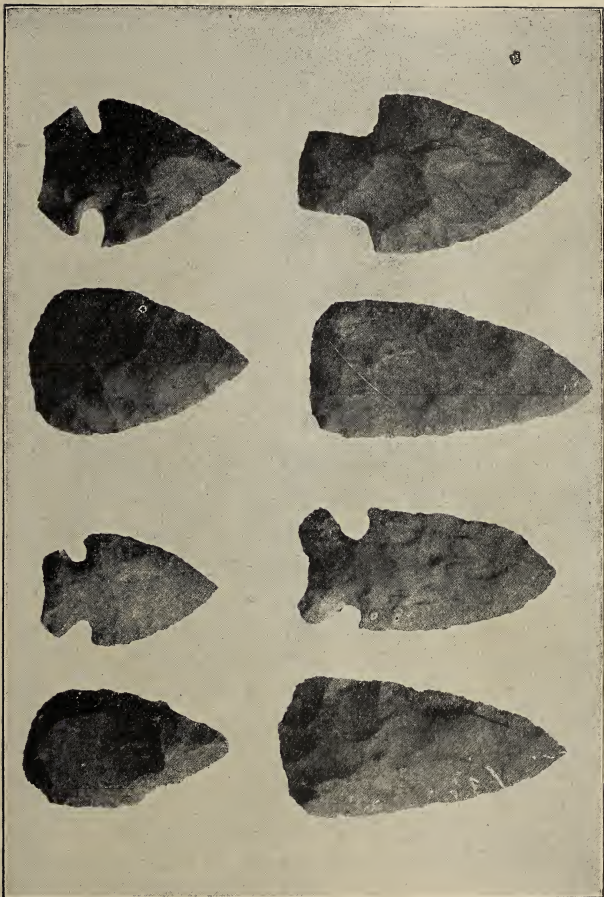


FIG. 19. Shows the blades as well as the points manufactured from them.



FIG. 20. Flint cores from which knives are chipped, found so abundantly in the workshops.

core from which it was flaked. No. 5 is a very dark red, with a large splotch of green near the center of the piece. No. 6 is a very delicate shade of yellow with a blending to dark rose. No. 7 is a light shade of yellow blending into purple with streaks of very dark red. No. 8 is an unusual blending of the various shades of green.

Knives flaked from the cores are found in great numbers in the workshops, especially in those south and east of the cross-roads at the blacksmith shop. Good examples of flaked knives are shown in Fig. 21. Many of the cores were subjected to the process of flaking off the knives, and were then discarded, at the workshops; while some of them, we find, were carried to distant points where they were utilized as needed. We find the knives in goodly numbers in the old villages and mounds, and occasionally cores are found; but nowhere in Ohio can either be found in such numbers as at the workshops of "Flint Ridge". The workshop at the end of the Mary Loughman woods and the workshop directly south of the dwelling on the Graham farm are both very rich in knives and cores.

The workshop on the Graham place is practically the only place on the "Ridge" showing a continued habitation. Broken pottery, animal bones of many kinds, and other general indications show a more or less permanent habitation. This workshop has been under cultivation many years and the small delicate knives would naturally get broken, but a careful search by our survey gave us more than one hundred perfect cores and scores of blank cores ready for flaking, as well as many hundreds of perfect knives. The industry at this site was not confined to the making of cores and knives, but the making of blades of the round and square base type was much in evidence, as more than a hundred broken blades of each type were found. Occasionally a finished arrow-point was found on the site, several of which were made of a dark to black flint, the spawls of which are seldom found in the shop site, indicating that perhaps these specimens were lost by hunters or received in exchange.

In one of the workshops, my assistant, Mr. Shetrone, found a large piece of hyaline quartz that no doubt came from the



FIG. 21. Flaked knives found so abundantly in the workshops.

region of the blacksmith shop. From time to time the old village sites have shown the use of rock crystal in making arrow-points, and objects of rock crystal have been found in many of the mounds of the Hopewell culture. A large piece of rock crystal weighing between three and four pounds was found in the Paint Creek Valley and is now on exhibition in the museum. Mr. John Wilson found on his farm in Pickaway County a large piece of rock crystal weighing between twenty and thirty pounds, and it would not be surprising if in future years when the flint will likely be quarried for the silica, it will be conclusively shown that the home of the rock crystal found throughout Ohio is at Flint Ridge.

DISTRIBUTION.

The wide distribution over Ohio of objects made of flint is quite apparent to the student of archæology who has collected artifacts from the ancient villages, and naturally the distribution of the flint over the state would be attended with problems of interest as to the sources of the raw material. The raw material from any of the quarries in the state where flakable flint was obtained might be transported a long distance if made into convenient form. The distribution of flint from the great Flint Ridge quarries was doubtless on a large scale through barter or exchange, or by bands of aborigines coming to the quarries to secure the raw material for their own use. In this case the flint was made into blades or cores and carried away to be specialized, finished and used.

In a number of old village sites caches of flint blades, still retaining the crude edges and points just as they came from the roughing-out shops at the quarries, have been found. These caches are of great interest as they represent the storage places of surplus supplies to be drawn upon as required.

The exploration of mounds often reveals quantities of blades placed with the dead, perhaps the personal property of the deceased. The blades are not always found in caches as many occur in the village site, and frequently upon the surface, miles distant from a village site.

MANNER OF DISTRIBUTION.

Flint Ridge at an early date could only be reached by trails, and here the trails would end. The largest stream near enough for the use of boats was the Licking River, six miles north from the principal quarries. In Muskingum County the Licking River was only a few miles away, and the Muskingum River less than six miles distant and doubtless these streams were used to transport the blades and cores to eastern Ohio, north and south, and perhaps the Licking River furnished a route to the west as far as Newark and vicinity when the water was of sufficient volume to permit the use of small boats. Directly to the south, west and north the flint was carried long distances over trails in these directions. Practically all the objects made of flint found upon the surface in central Ohio came from Flint Ridge and practically all of the raw material was carried over the trails to the old villages and there specialized into arrow and spear-points, knives, scrapers, saws and drills.

RESUME.

A brief resume of quarrying the raw material from which such a large number of implements were manufactured will be of special interest and the following outstanding features, it is believed, will add materially to the fund of information concerning the quarrying of the flint at Flint Ridge.

The flint was quarried by the use of stone mauls and hammers (none of which were hafted) together with wedges made of wood or horn (although no wedges of any kind were found) and pries made of wood.

No evidence showing the use of fire in quarrying was found in the thirty-three quarry-sites examined and I firmly believe fire was not used as an agent in quarrying the flint, directly or indirectly, as some evidence would have been found in this great number of quarry-sites.

The flint was removed from the quarry sometimes only a short distance away, where it was blocked out and then taken to the workshops, usually in close proximity, where the blocked-

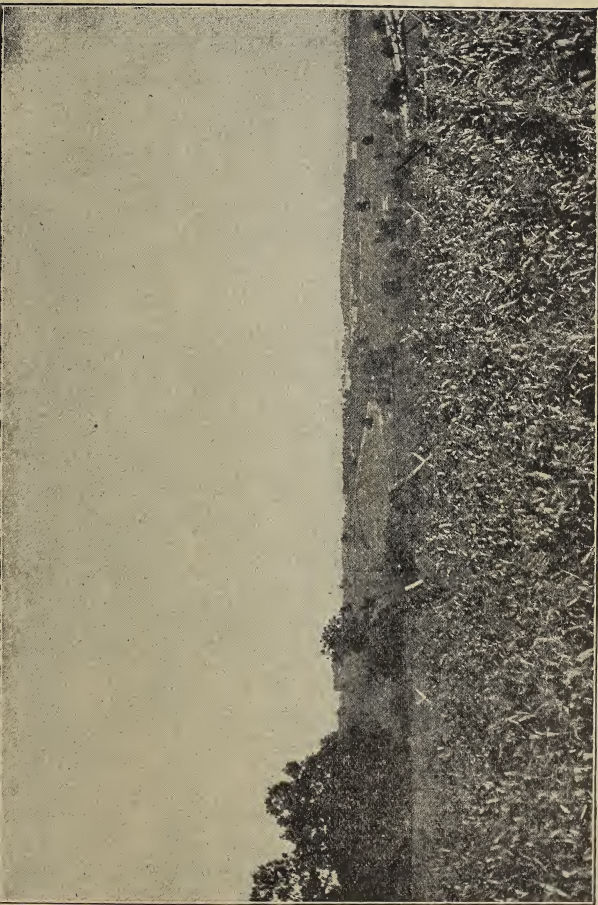


FIG. 22. General view of the country from the top of the Hazlett Mound looking northwest.

out pieces were made into blades or cores, the two principal commodities manufactured at the quarries.

It is very fortunate for those who wish to verify or disprove the statements made in this study of Flint Ridge that the full range of quarrying is still well within the reach of all investigators and needs only to be properly examined to reveal the facts.

The most striking thing that presented itself was that a primitive people with such crude implements showed such skill and perseverance in quarrying the flint from its bed and then displayed such versatility in fashioning the raw material into blades and cores ready to transport by man-power to practically every portion of the state.

THE QUESTION OF OWNERSHIP OF THE FLINT RIDGE QUARRIES.

Were the quarry sites owned by individual cultures or were the quarries common property among the tribes? In the region of the blacksmith shop at the cross-roads, where the flint was quarried, and in the region of Boyer's in Muskingum County, there is nothing to indicate that the sites of these quarries were guarded by certain tribes or cultures. Had the quarries been defended against an attack, we surely would have some evidence of attack in the way of lost arrow-points and other stone articles of warfare; on the contrary, specimens of arrow and spear-points are but seldom found. Only one place upon the "Ridge" shows a more or less permanent abode, the site being on the western end of the ridge, one and a half miles west of the blacksmith shop. Here, on the farm of William Hazlett, is a mound surrounded by a wall made up of blocks of flint. This mound we examined to ascertain the culture responsible for its construction.

THE HAZLETT MOUND.

The Hazlett mound is located on the farm of William Hazlett, situated in the western edge of Hopewell Township, Licking County, and approximately one and one-half miles west of the blacksmith shop. Near the site of the mound the flint ledge outcrops in very large boulder-like pieces of flint. During the

early settlement of Ohio the people made use of large pieces in the manufacture of buhrs for grinding grain. Large quantities of small pieces of flint, the result of forming the buhr-stones, are scattered over the ground in great profusion as are also partly finished buhrs. Broken pieces of flint of large size are found scattered over this part of the ridge in great profusion and these pieces were used in the mound and also to aid in constructing a wall of stone surrounding the mound. The dimensions of the mound before work was begun were: north and south diameter, eighty-five feet; east and west diameter, ninety feet; height thirteen feet three inches, and the general shape that of a flattened cone. The mound was covered with a dense growth of underbrush which was removed and burned. A photograph of the mound is shown in Fig. 23. The depression shown in the top of the mound filled with limbs and underbrush is the excavation of a former explorer. The work of examining the mound was begun on the east side, as shown in the photograph, Fig. 23, where the workman's head appears above the corn.

COMPOSITION OF THE MOUND.

The mound was made of earth gathered from the surrounding surface, and perfectly devoid of pieces of rock which would naturally occur upon the surface, except in a number of instances where small pockets of flint knives or scrapers or even select pieces of flint were placed. The soil was very loose and the examination was conducted with dispatch.

A HOUSE OF FLINT.

It was discovered after the work had progressed to the point of finding a long wall of flat blocks, and subsequently of four such walls, that the mound covered the remains of a flint house, the inside measurement of which was practically sixteen feet by sixteen feet eight inches, and the outside measurements thirty-seven feet by thirty-seven feet six inches.

The walls on the inside of the building were perpendicular and averaged six feet in height, gradually sloping to the ground on the outside and on the inside forming a right angle with a

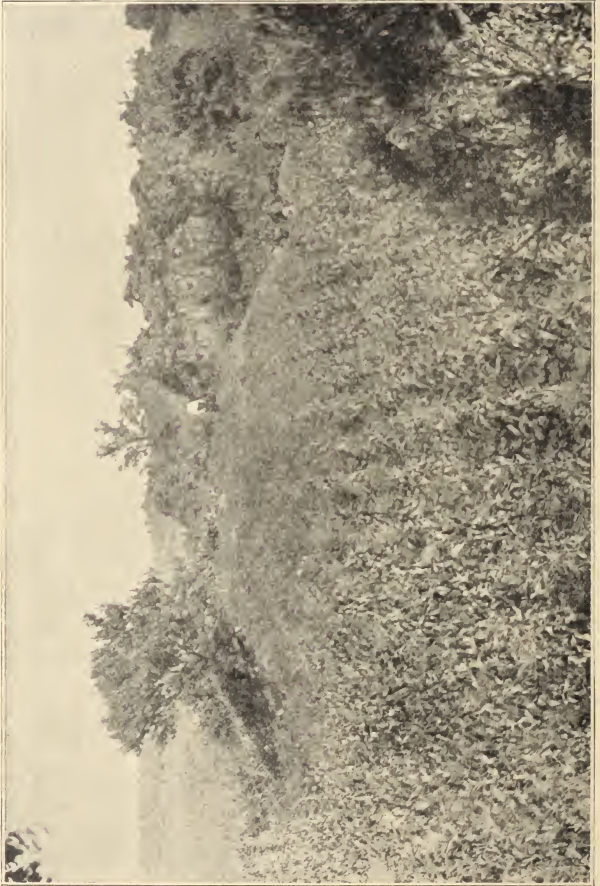


FIG. 23. View of Hazlett Mound after it was cleared of the underbrush and ready for examination.

base of practically ten feet. On the inside of the building upon the floor were found two skeletons, one placed near the south wall, which was undisturbed, and one near the northwest corner that had been disturbed by a former explorer who was satisfied with the artifacts found with the burial, and left the greater part of the skeleton in a pile at one side of the trench.

DETAILED ACCOUNT OF THE STONE STRUCTURE.

The space covered by the mound outside of the stone structure containing nothing of interest, only two small post holes being found, lying directly west of the structure but apparently having no connection therewith. The examination was begun on the east side of the mound and the beginning of the wall was struck just twenty-four feet from the starting point. This wall measured thirty-four feet in length, and is shown in Fig. 24. The blocks of flint used in constructing this wall were all small, only a few exceeding a cubic foot in size. These larger blocks are shown in Fig. 24, at the distant end of the cut and placed on the floor; they required two men to handle. The wall for the most part was made of small blocks of flint promiscuously placed on the outside, but so laid on the inside as to form a perpendicular wall six feet high, laid up without mortar. At the southeast corner a doorway was formed by the same manner of laying the stone. The doorway was one foot and ten inches on the bottom and about two feet at the top. Fig. 25 shows the doorway in this building also the south side wall and the angular turn in the wall forming the room. This cut does not show the full wall to advantage, as a slide caused by the heavy rains upon the freshly removed earth covered the greater portion of the wall exposed to the base, and it was found that the removal of wet freshly turned earth was not feasible, if not almost impossible, at the time; but cut No. 25 shows very well the outline of the walls of the building. The inside measurements of the room after the earth was entirely removed were sixteen feet east and west, as shown in Fig. 25, and sixteen feet eight inches north and south. The broken flint shown in the main body of the mound in Fig. 25 was taken from the wall



FIG. 24. Large blocks of flint forming the east wall of the stone enclosure covered by the mound.

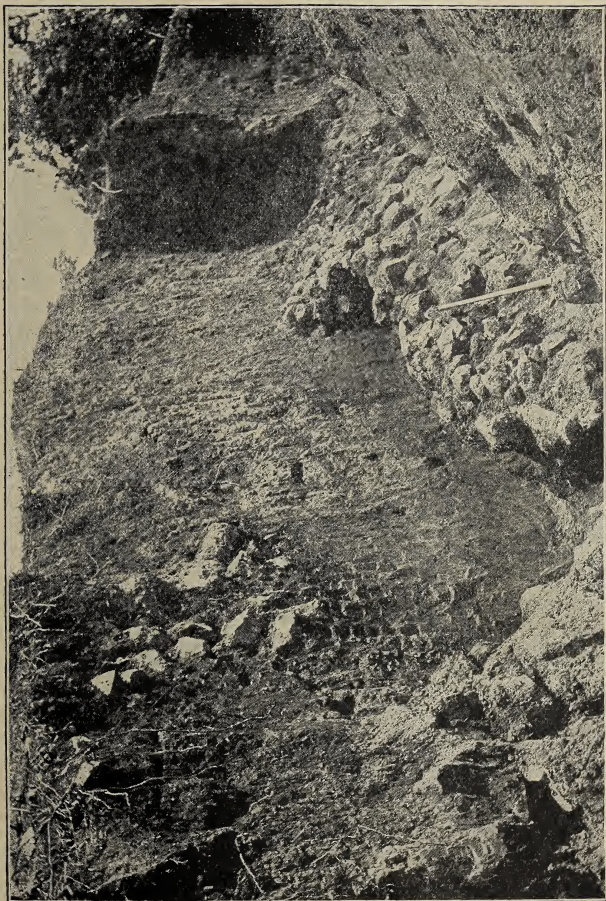


FIG. 25. Shows entrance to the stone structure.

of the building on the opposite side by a former explorer, and then thrown back when the excavation was filled. The soil was removed from the room, leaving it exposed as it appeared when the burials were placed on the floor and prior to heaping the mound over the building. The burials are shown in Fig. 26. The perfect skeleton placed along the west wall had not been disturbed by former explorers and was removed in very good condition. Fig. 27 shows the skeleton as it was uncovered. The body had been placed upon a prepared floor and under the head lay a large copper gorget of unusual size, made in the form of a conventional cross. The size of the gorget is eight inches long by six inches wide, and is considered as belonging to the Hopewell Culture. One of the fingers of the gorget may be seen extending from beneath the skull. An ear ornament of copper lies near the right cheek bone and another similarly located on the other side is not visible in the cut. Around the neck was a string of beads made of shell and on the right arm an object made of wood, covered with copper. In the left hand was an ornament made of the anterior half of the lower jaw of a gray wolf.

The part of a skeleton shown near the north wall of the structure had been disturbed by former explorers, who cut a trench six feet wide into the mound from the northeast, and when they came to the center carried the shaft to the base of the mound, where the great central fireplace was located, practically in the center of the room. The fireplace certainly was in use a very long time as indicated by the burned earth. However, nothing definite could be obtained as to its size, as the charred wood and ashes were thoroughly mixed with the earth. I am inclined to believe the parts of the skeleton found near the north wall were left in the place where it was found and the skull and a few other parts removed. No artifacts were left with the skeleton but it is generally understood that a number of objects were found.

The house was evidently supplied with a roof, as post-holes were found at the corners, as shown in Fig. 28. At the far corner in the cut, a stake about four feet high is placed in the

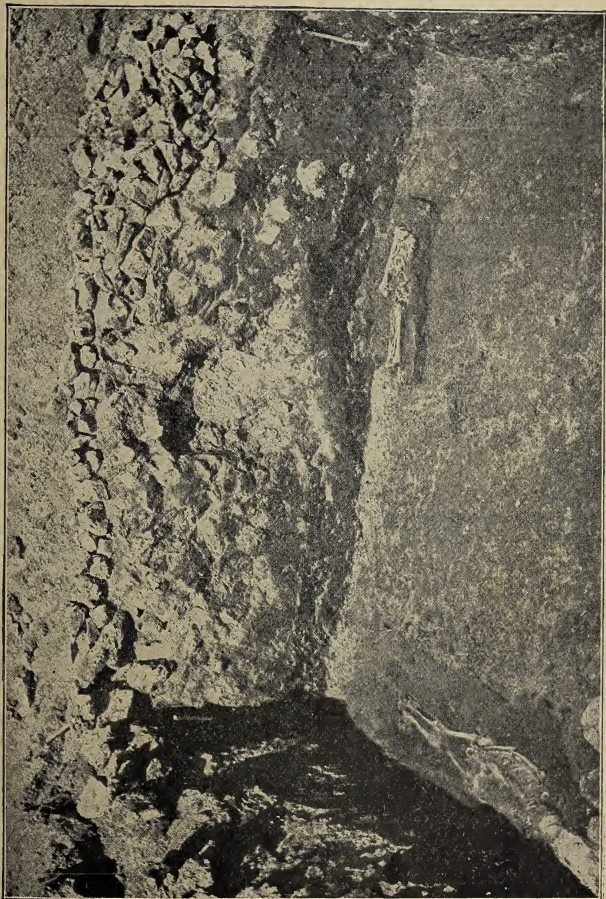


FIG. 26. Shows burials found on the floor inside of the stone structure.



FIG. 27. Shows skeleton with its ornaments of copper.



FIG. 28. View of the structure showing three sides.

post mold. At other places in the room post molds were found and no doubt served as supports for the roof.

DESCRIPTION OF ARTIFACTS FOUND WITH THE BURIAL.

The copper gorget is of unusual weight and size, being eight inches in length and six inches in width. The gorget was covered with a woven fabric, part of which still clings to the copper. The gorget is shown in Fig. 30. This type of gorget has been attributed to the Hopewell culture in Ohio. A number of these specimens made of both copper and stone were taken from the Tremper Mound in Scioto County and several were found in the Fort Ancient find of copper objects, all of which are on exhibition in the museum of the Society. The gorget was found directly under the skull of the skeleton.

The ear ornaments shown in Fig. 31 are of special interest as they are made a little different from the usual type found in the Hopewell culture, consisting of two similar concavo-convex plates connected by central cylindrical columns. Those shown in Fig. 31 were made similar to the majority of the ear ornaments of the Hopewell culture with the exception that one concavo-convex plate was replaced by a round and flat plate and smaller in diameter by half an inch.

The concavo-convex ear ornament is perhaps the most common ornament made of copper used by primitive man, and no doubt required great skill to manufacture.

WOVEN FABRIC.

The example of woven fabric shown in Fig. 31 was preserved by the salts of copper. A coarse cloth had been placed over a matting on the floor of the grave. The matting was made of bark, very coarsely woven, while only a few pieces of the cloth were preserved sufficiently to photograph.

The wood handle covered with copper, as shown in Fig. 31, is also of interest. The blade was apparently made of wood and was a continuation of the handle, which was preserved by copper.



FIG. 29. Carefully uncovering a skeleton on the west side.

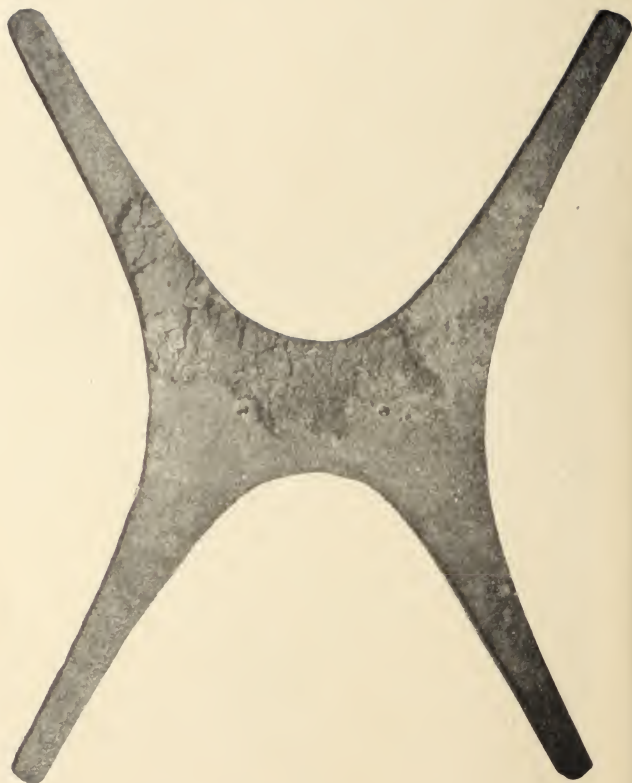


FIG. 30. Copper gorget eight inches in length and six inches in width.

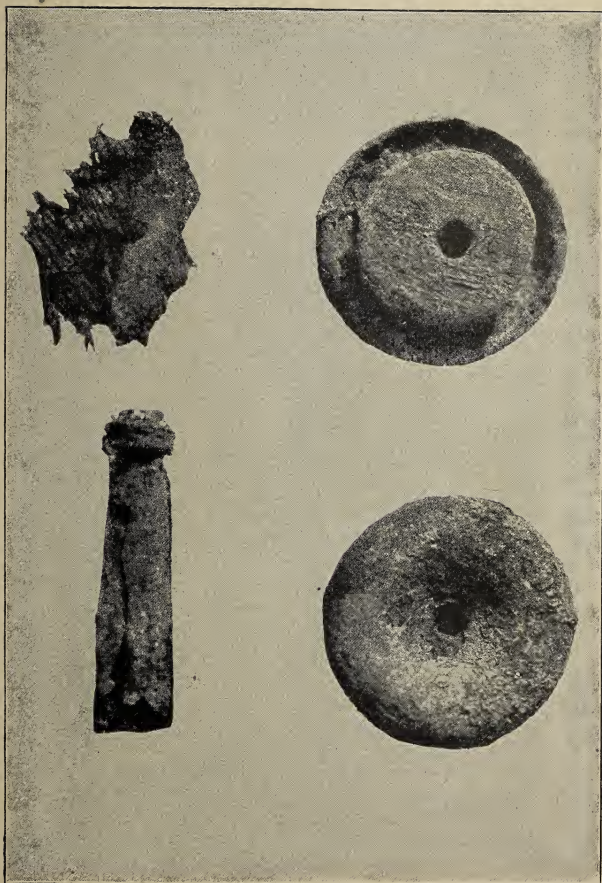


FIG. 31. Ear ornaments of copper; also a wood handle covered with copper and a woven fabric preserved by the salts of copper.

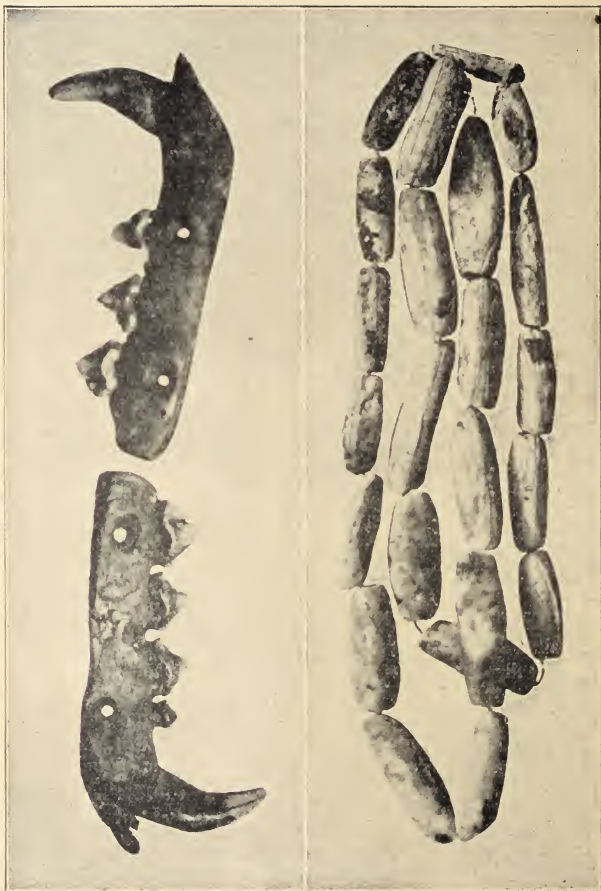


FIG. 32. Necklace made of ocean shells; also ornaments made of the lower jaw of the gray wolf.

The other ornaments found in the grave were a necklace of shell beads made from the columella of some ocean shell, and numbered twenty-three well made beads. The necklace is shown in Fig. 32.

In the left hand of the skeleton was placed an ornament made of the anterior part of the lower jaw of the gray wolf. The cut jaw is shown in Fig. 32. When in use as an ornament no doubt the two halves of the jaw were together.

RESUME.

The examination of the Hazlett Mound has established the fact that the Hopewell culture in Ohio constructed the mound, and proves beyond doubt that this culture resorted to Flint Ridge for the raw material for the manufacture of many of their artifacts and further that they had established themselves upon the ridge and in close proximity to the good flint quarries. No evidence is forthcoming as to the length of time the site was used. It may have been the refuge of the Hopewell culture from time to time as they would come to the Ridge for their supplies of the raw material. I fully expected to find some evidence that this building covered by the mound was used as a storehouse for blades and cores, for here a formidable defense could have been staged, behind stone walls of unusual size and height, against great odds if it became necessary to do so.

I do not feel that this fortified site, one and one-half miles from the great central quarries, was intended to guard any part of the quarries. I do feel certain, however, that such a fortified place so near to the source of supply served to guard the raw material after it had been manufactured into blades and cores, but no evidence that it was used for this purpose was found.

GEORGE FREDERICK WRIGHT.

IN MEMORIUM.

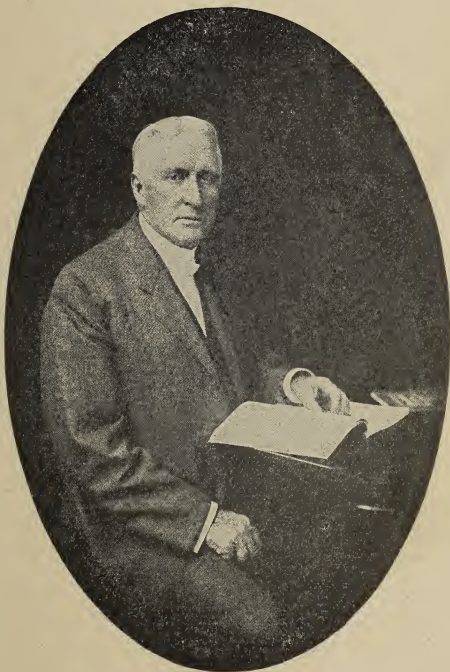
In the fullness of years and bearing the honors of a life devoted to science and the service of his fellow men, Doctor George Frederick Wright, President Emeritus of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, passed to his final reward April 20, 1921. While he had been failing in strength for a few months past he was able to continue his work almost to the day of his death and was cheerfully looking forward to a return to health and planning further contributions in his chosen field of interest and research. In a letter addressed to the Secretary of the Society under date of April 11, 1921, he wrote:

"I was very glad to receive your letter and learn that you were going to put Dr. Wilson's article in the April number of the *QUARTERLY*.

"It is true that I have been under the weather for four weeks * * *, but I have not been incapacitated for office work any of the time, and hope soon to be out and around as usual."

The reference in this letter is to the article which appears in this issue of the *QUARTERLY*, on the serpent worship and monuments of India and the serpent mounds of Ohio—a subject on which Dr. Wright had thought much and to which he referred at the last annual meeting of the Society. It is worthy of note in this connection that at the first annual meeting of the Society in 1886 Dr. Wright read a paper on "The Relation

of the Glacial Period to Archæology in Ohio;" that he had since been an active member, contributing frequently to the *QUARTERLY*, serving on different commit-



DR. GEORGE FREDERICK WRIGHT.

tees, on the Board of Trustees, and as President from 1907-1909, when at his own request he was relieved. He was elected President Emeritus, in which position he served till the time of his death. His last contribution,

which is introductory to the article by Dr. Wilson, bears date of March 31, 1921, and appears elsewhere in this issue.

His associates will bear testimony to his never failing interest and keen enjoyment in the work of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, which he so signally honored for thirty-five years. The evident pleasure that he found in the annual meeting of last December will be recalled by all who met him on that occasion.

Dr. Wright was a scholar of national and international reputation and a student through life. A biographer in a recent survey of his literary work has said:

"Wright's output was prodigious. His books number sixteen volumes and upwards of 5,750 pages. He edited thirty-eight volumes of *Bibliotheca Sacra* and fourteen volumes of *Records of the Past* (each involving labors like unto the production of a book of his own). His published magazine articles listed from 1873 to 1916 number 524; and from 1913 (age 75) on, he averaged an article a month, a pace which he maintained almost to the end."

Those who for many years were intimately associated with him in his varied service have paid just and fitting tribute to his worth and eminence as minister of the gospel, scientist, teacher, author and citizen. In every relation of life he was faithful to his ideals and his conception of duty. Judged by these high standards he was singularly fortunate and successful.

Dr. Wright was twice married, first on August 28, 1862 to Hulda Marie Day, whose death occurred in 1899. He was united in marriage with Florence Eleanor Bedford, who survives him, in September, 1904. He had four children, all living and all graduates of

Oberlin College. They are Mary Augusta, (now the wife of Rev. A. A. Berle) Etta, Frederick Bennett and Helen.

While Dr. Wright reached a ripe old age, in spirit he was perennially young. His was a healthful and hopeful optimism. Doubt did not cloud his future. He welcomed scientific truth and reconciled it with rational and unfaltering faith. He was pioneer among Christian ministers to accept the fundamentals of evolution and lived to see his position generally approved.

His funeral occurred on the 23rd of April. The following committee of officers and members were in attendance representing the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society: Governor James E Campbell, President; Honorable Francis W. Treadway; Dr. W. O. Thompson; George F. Bareis; E. F. Wood; Colonel Webb C. Hayes; Dr. William C. Mills; C. B. Galbreath. Services were held in the Congregational Church at Oberlin. The tributes of Dr. Henry Churchill King, President of Oberlin College, Professor Azariah S. Root and Professor Edward Dickinson are here presented as a fitting memorial to Dr. Wright.

ADDRESS BY PRESIDENT HENRY CHURCHILL KING.

"The *external record of Professor Wright's life* may be briefly recounted.

"He was born January 22, 1838, and hence died in his eighty-fourth year. His birthplace was the little village of Whitehall, New York, at the head of Lake Champlain. His early education was in country schools and a neighboring academy. He came to Oberlin in 1855, graduating from the College in 1859, and from the Theological Seminary in 1862. Brown University later gave him the honorary degree of Doctor of Divinity, and Drury College that of Doctor of Laws.

"At the outbreak of the Civil War he was one of the first to enlist in Company C, the first Oberlin company to be formed, and entered the service of the army, but on account of severe illness due to long exposure, was given sick-leave furlough after five months.

"His first pastorate, of ten years, was in a country parish at Bakersfield, Vermont, where he laid the foundations for his steady growth by sacredly devoting his mornings to study. His second pastorate, also of nearly ten years, was at the Free Church at Andover, Massachusetts, where he continued with great success his glacial studies.

"He was assistant in the Pennsylvania Geological Survey of 1881-82, and in the United States Survey of 1884-1892.

"He was Corresponding Member from the Alumni on the Board of Trustees of Oberlin College for three years, 1870, and 1876-78.

"He began his *teaching* at Oberlin in 1881, holding the chair of New Testament Language and Literature until 1892, when a new professorship was created for him — that of the Harmony of Science and Revelation, which he held from 1892 to his retirement in 1907. He had been Emeritus Professor since 1907, continuing his scientific investigations and his editorship of the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, which involved an enormous amount of writing, — as the bibliography of his writings shows. And he was elected President of the Ohio Historical and Archæological Society in 1907 and held that position for twelve years.

"It is evident at once from his brief record *how large a factor Professor Wright was in the life both of Oberlin College and of the Oberlin community.*

"In College he was seven years a student, three years a Corresponding Member from the Alumni of the Board of Trustees, twenty-six years an active teacher, and fourteen years an Emeritus Professor. His entire direct connection as student and officer with Oberlin, therefore, covered fifty years, and he had personally known sixty-six years of the history of the College. He proved himself one of the most distinguished alumni of the College and one of its most widely known teachers and investigators. He had an exceedingly wide acquaintance.

"As one of the first of Oberlin's young men to enlist for the Civil War, he has naturally had close connection with the local post of the Grand Army of the Republic.

"In church and community the earnestness of his Christian conviction, his wide interests and knowledge, his genuine friendliness, his hopeful faith, and the weight of his own character and attainments — have all combined to make him a man to rejoice in and to be proud of.

"Back of all this pride in him on the part of his friends and colleagues lay the remarkable *breadth of his work*. His work included that of preacher and pastor, of teacher, of investigator, of author, and of editor. In almost any one of these fields he had done work sufficient to make a solid basis for an enduring reputation. His writing was along correspondingly varied lines — apologetic, theological, critical, biographical, geological, archæological, and æsthetic. And he secured interested and notable attention in each of these fields, having real contributions to make at many points.

"His strong and fine *personal qualities* stand out also unmistakably in this record. The very amount of his work reveals indubitably his unusual capacity for turning off work, and his unquestionably great intellectual ability. He had a mind in rare degree persistently active, versatile, and productive. His retirement from teaching meant apparently no lessening of mental labor but only change of work.

"Professor Wright had the power also to take comprehensive views and to use a wide range of data — to bring many details together into one inquiry and so skilfully to handle broad masses of evidence. His achievements in glacial geology could hardly have been possible to him otherwise.

"In his judgment of men, of means, and of the changing times he was not blind to the limitations of the past, but kept a good measure of confidence in the new times, in harmony with his deep faith in the over-ruling providence of God.

"None of us need to be told that he was a man of deep convictions in many realms and of profound religious faith, as the personal Creed, which forms the last chapter of the inter-

esting and suggestive story of his life abundantly reveals. As truly as Abraham, he believed that God was 'his shield and his exceeding great reward' — in this life and in all lives."

ADDRESS BY PROFESSOR AZARIAH S. ROOT.

"In the few minutes allotted me I wish to say something of a side of Professor Wright's work which I think he would like emphasized; namely, his work in the field of science. It will be understood that I am not speaking as one who has wide knowledge in this field, endeavoring to evaluate the worth of Professor Wright's contribution to this field of knowledge, but rather as a loving friend, reviewing with admiration the accomplishments of an honored colleague.

"That Professor Wright should have become prominent in the scientific world was certainly a great tribute to his individual initiative and capacity, for scientific training in the modern sense he had little. The College catalogue for 1859 indicates that the following courses in science were offered to his class:

- 9 weeks of Botany with no laboratory. Lectures.
- 24 weeks of Physics, no laboratory. Olmstead as a text, with recitations.
- 24 weeks of lectures on Chemistry. No laboratory.
- 12 weeks of Astronomy, Olmstead as text with recitations.
- 12 weeks of Geology, Hitchcock as text with occasional lectures.
- 12 weeks of Mineralogy.

The entire amount of science offered at that time was thus less than five semesters work in six different fields of science, or less than a single semester in any one science.

"His graduation from the College in 1859 was followed by his years of theological study, interrupted by service in the Civil War. He then took his place as a country minister in Vermont.

"Here the geological formation of the vicinity interested him. His intellectual curiosity would not be satisfied by a superficial explanation. He gained such information as he could from books and from correspondence with geologists in and out of the state, and supplemented this by a wide reading of scientific literature. In this way he was led to a study of the

works of Charles Darwin, just then coming from the press. As a result of this study he became a believer in the general theory of evolution as taught by Darwin and both spoke and wrote in its favor. As an advocate of evolution at a time when many leading scientists, as for example, Agassiz, opposed it, and when nearly every clergyman viewed it with alarm, he was brought into acquaintance with and established friendly relations with, many of the leading scientific men of the East, particularly with Asa Gray of Harvard and Professor C. H. Hitchcock of Dartmouth.

"Because of his advocacy of evolution, he was invited to write a series of articles on the subject for the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, the first article appearing in the number for December, 1875. This series of articles awakened wide interest and brought him a greatly increased reputation. Of his work at this period, Dr. Tucker, ex-president of Dartmouth College, in his recent book *My Generation*, speaks as follows: 'Especially notable was a series of articles in the *Bibliotheca Sacra*, the leading theological review of the time, by Professor George Frederick Wright of Oberlin, then the young pastor of the Free Church in Andover, Mass. These papers were characterized by a breadth and candor and above all by a thorough comprehension of the real questions at issue, which make them still an example of fair-minded and intelligent discussion in place of controversy.'

"When Professor Wright removed to Andover, he became interested in the 'kettleholes' and other characteristics of the glacial formation of the region and this led to an increasing specialization in that particular field. As a result he determined to trace the boundary of the glaciated region in North America. Because of articles published by him on this subject, he was selected by the Director of the Second Geological Survey of Pennsylvania to prepare a volume on the terminal moraine for that survey, and later was employed by the United States Geological Survey. On his removal to Oberlin he devoted many of his vacations to the following of this line through Ohio and the states west of Ohio. His work was so conscientiously done, his ability to assemble and relate the observations made in these trips was so unusual, that this work must rank among the most

important of his contributions to Geology. After some years of such study he was honored by an invitation to give a course of lectures on the subject in the Lowell Lectures of Boston. As a consequence he prepared and published the most elaborate of his scientific contributions, *The Ice Age in North America*. This work was widely reviewed and had a very large sale. During a trip through Europe, Dr. Wright had great satisfaction in finding his work in the libraries of the scientific men upon whom he called, and received many assurances of the value of its contribution to the subject. Only a few months ago he published the sixth edition of this work, with an additional chapter reviewing the literature of the subject that had appeared since the issue of the fifth edition.

"This work in the field of glacial geology led almost inevitably into another field; namely, that of pre-historic archæology. At the fringe of the terminal moraine or within the territory covered once by glacial ice, there came to light from time to time, evidences of the existence of pre-glacial man. Professor Wright's first contribution to the *Bibliotheca* (in April, 1873) was upon this topic. In this paper he reviews the recent books in the field and after stating the conclusions to which they led, turns to what was then a much mooted question, the bearing of these conclusions upon the then generally accepted Biblical Chronology of Archbishop Usher. 'It is a principle' he says, 'which we should keep more prominently in view than we do, that the integrity of the divine revelation should not be made to depend upon the interpretation of a few isolated and doubtful passages. In such a brief and rapid epitome of long periods of early history as is given in Genesis, the words 'beget' and 'son of' cannot be so equivocal in their meaning and limitations, that the Bible must stand or fall with the strictest and most limited interpretation of them. That feeling of uneasiness which many students of the Bible have, resting on Archbishop Usher's interpretation of equivocal words in a rapid historical epitome of little logical importance to the rest of the book, is not more unpleasant than it is unfortunate.' In this spirit he followed Professor Abbott's discoveries in the Delaware valley and every other such discovery that was reported, usually refraining from

any expression of opinion until he had personally visited the spot, and studied all the obtainable evidence. He published many articles upon the antiquity of man and was presently asked to deliver a course of lectures on the subject in the Lowell Lectures at Boston. In 1892 these lectures appeared in print in Appleton's famous International Scientific Series under the title *Man and the Glacial Period*. This subject never ceased to interest him and he followed it with keenest interest to the end of his life. For many years any such discovery was at once communicated to him and as speedily as possible he was on the spot to investigate. The gradual accumulation of material presently led him to publish (in 1912) a second volume on the subject entitled *The Origin and Antiquity of Man*.

"This interest in archæology led naturally to his election to the Presidency of the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society, a position which he held for many years. Two years ago, because of increasing deafness, he insisted upon declining further service, and the Society reluctantly released him. Almost his last public appearance was in presenting a paper in this general field before the local Social Science Club. On that occasion he spoke with his wonted enthusiasm, and, as was his custom, without manuscript or memoranda. One of those present remarked to me as we were leaving, 'How glad I would be to be able to believe that at Professor Wright's age I should speak with such fire, state my thought so logically, and be as clear-headed as he has been this afternoon.'

"I am well aware that I have only been able to touch upon a few of the scientific contributions of Professor Wright. In our card catalogue there are recorded ninety-eight books and pamphlets of which he was the author, and I suppose there are many that have not come to us. To these numerous publications should be added — as another phase of his widely extended influence — his work in the lecture field. As a popular lecturer upon scientific topics he was called for in all parts of the country. Thus he reached an unusually widely distributed audience.

"But now he will speak no more, and we shall only recall in memory the kindly face, the straightforward presentation, the

fine flavor of humor, the graciousness of personality, the beauty of spirit which made Professor Wright one of Oberlin's best known and most highly esteemed citizens."

ADDRESS BY PROFESSOR EDWARD DICKINSON.

"Upon this sacred occasion it is natural to let our minds linger upon those achievements which have carried the name of our departed friend into learned circles in many lands. And yet, when we stand as we do at such a time with our faces turned towards eternal things, scientific discoveries, even though carried to an eminent degree, do not seem of quite supreme importance. In the world of science one discovery succeeds another, one discovery supplants another and makes the deductions of one day obsolete the next. But they have a value beyond the slight relation they bear to the sum total of the unknown when they testify to an activity which finds its highest satisfaction when it helps to keep the longing for truth alive and burning in the world. It was Thomas Huxley, standing in the front rank of scientists of his day, who declared that the scientific spirit is of more value than its products. It is because our friend had this spirit and at the same time made it tributary to moral ends that we praise him to-day. He toiled unremittingly to uncover new secrets of nature; he strove in his theological writings to maintain what he devoutly believed, and he defended his conclusions stoutly, not from any pride in them as his own, certainly not from any love of controversy, but because he could not do otherwise and be true to his conscience. They may be superseded or they may remain constant, but at any rate his example stands and will always stand as that of a man who devoted highly intellectual powers to the attainment of knowledge, not for its own sake or for any economic profits, but for the sake of those spiritual values in which knowledge and mental achievement find their only real satisfaction and stability.

"I have been asked to speak of Dr. Wright's love of art, and especially of music. I do this the more readily because of a claim upon my gratitude. From my first coming to Oberlin

College to found a new department of instruction I had his sympathy and encouragement. We were drawn together first by a common love of music, but our friendship soon found other bases on which to rest. Although I did not need any argument to prove the value of music as a factor in the intellectual life, it was the source of an added gratification to find a deep respect and love for music in so intellectual a man, and one whose professional pursuits were so different from those of one devoted to art. It was not that music and art were a recreation with him—a relief from arduous mental toil; they were a part of the deeper need of his nature; they were to him both a joy and a witness to a truth which he could not separate from beauty. Being an essential part of his nature they helped to give freshness and elasticity to his mind. I do not doubt that these æsthetic appreciations had a share in the preservation of that youthfulness of spirit which kept him ardently and joyfully at his task far beyond the normal span of working life. The love of beauty unquestionably has this rejuvenating power. The surest preservative of a youthful freshness of mind is a constant loving contact with that which is unchangeably young; and not least in nature and in art, for their beauty is the beauty of immortal youth.

“A recent poet sings:—

‘Life well spent is ever new,
And years anointed younger grow.’

Certainly the years of Dr. Wright were anointed years; his well-spent life was ever renewed, and part of the renewing power was his reverent love of all that is beautiful in sight and sound.

“Although there was no restriction in his love of music it was primarily based upon religious music. No one realized more than he the importance of music as an aid to worship. He was not content with listening, he joined in it with his voice, and always lent it the help of his enthusiastic advocacy. As one of the founders of the Second Church Society he gave his interest hardly less to the church music than to the other church activities. When the Musical Union was established as a com-

bination of the choirs of the two Congregational Churches he was a leading spirit in its organization. Not only that, but he was from the first a member of the singing force, a faithful attendant in its rehearsals and public performances whenever he was in town. Even as late as two years ago one of the pleasant features of the concerts was the sight of his gray head among the tenors, the only survivor in the chorus from the original body, singing his part with no less zeal and enjoyment than the youngest member of the company.

"In his travels in Russia and Siberia he was struck with the wealth and marvelous abundance of the Russian folk music and his talk about it one day to my classes was one of the very pleasant episodes of my department work. His enlightened admiration for the music of the Russian Church was equally significant. He brought back from Russia a copy of the beautiful setting of the 'Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom', by Tchaikovsky, and made an English version which was published in Moscow, and became at once one of the most valued works in the repertory of the choir of the Second Church. This was one of the beginnings, if not actually the beginning, of the introduction of the music of the Russian church to the attention of American musicians. It was a fortunate movement, for I think it is safe to say that no other nation in recent years has made so rich a contribution to the music of the Christian Church as Russia. In his perception of this and in his wise action Dr. Wright was a pioneer.

"In working with him upon the revision of the Oberlin Hymnal I was surprised at the extent of his knowledge of hymnody and hymn music, and was also pleased to see that he was as appreciative of the value of the later tendencies in that field as he was of the established dignity of the old.

"In his researches in archæology he was as ready to find æsthetic values there as he was to recognize its functions as historic record. In his observation of Japanese art he was quick to perceive its peculiar and unique beauty as well as its importance in the study of racial character.

"Our sorrow in the loss of such a friend is blended with a kind of noble pleasure in the contemplation of a fruitful life

that is at the same time rounded and complete. I used the word loss in order that I might contradict myself. There is no loss unless we make it so. The inspiration of it remains; the lesson is always ours by which to profit if we will hold it fast. I have spoken of Oberlin music, and I think of music as he thought of it — as a revelation of the soul, a bond between the life of action and the life of the spirit. He helped to establish the Oberlin music for the sake of its uplifting and steadying power, — as a social force, drawing all the elements of the community together by a common interest in a purifying and humanizing influence. This consciousness we must not lose. The foundation of Oberlin music was a religious foundation, and although it has greatly developed along technical and secular lines, it must never lose its early spirit of earnestness and reverence if it would be true to its high mission. Here lies the permanent value of a life like that of Dr. Wright as an example and a reminder.

“One of the magazines with which Dr. Wright was for a time connected was entitled *Records of the Past*. Such a career as his is a precious record of the past — of a past in which much that is best in the present is planted. His qualities of sincerity, singleness, and resolute unflagging zeal in the affirmation of what he believed to be the permanent bases of truth are examples for us in our own pursuits, however widely they may diverge from his in their nature and their results. The tribute that we offer to such careers — the tribute like that we pay today — is an implicit pledge that we will strive to be true in our acts to the homage which we pay with our words.”

OHIO STATE ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL
SOCIETY

REVIEWS, NOTES AND COMMENTS

BY THE EDITOR

DR. WILLIAM H. ALLEN'S REPORT ON THE OHIO
STATE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HIS-
TORICAL SOCIETY

Dr. William H. Allen, head of the Institute of Public Service, New York, was employed by the Joint Legislative Committee on Administrative Reorganization to make an examination of all state educational agencies. In his report on the work of the Society he sketches briefly the aims and purposes of the Society; the properties that have been transferred to its custody; the extent and character of its exhibits; its needs and its opportunities for greater service.

He praises highly some of the publications of the Society and declares that "the Archæological Atlas published should be in every school house because of the information on local remains which it contains."

He directs especial attention to the overcrowded condition of the museum and library building and states that "much valuable material is not on exhibition due to lack of space."

He concludes his report with eleven recommendations which are here reproduced in full:

- 1 — That the state department of public instruction be charged with responsibility for studying the work of this society with a view to the use of its results by public schools, teacher training schools and universities, and that the results of such inspection and analysis of its budget estimates be submitted biennially to the governor, legislature and public.
- 2 — That the society be encouraged and urged to establish a consistent and systematic method of enlisting citizen memberships by way of public information concerning local history, mounds and relics of the various counties with popular appeal.
- 3 — That special pamphlets and handbooks be prepared for use in the schools with special reference to local history, mounds and relics of the various counties.
- 4 — That the society be especially encouraged to continue the collection of war data which it has begun and to use in that service local schools for the double purpose of building up in each locality a war cabinet and of furnishing to the state a complete as possible history of each locality's participation in the World War and the reconstruction work following it.
- 5 — That both the society and the Ohio state university be urged to make far greater use of the society's research problems for the training of students in research methods and of the society's publications and exhibits for interesting and informing students and visitors during their stay at the university and during their study of Ohio archæology and history.
- 6 — That so far as distance permits the society make of vital usefulness to Miami and Ohio universities and to the normal schools of the state its exhibits, its publications and its outline of studies in the making.
- 7 — That the society be asked to extend its loans of materials to schools not only in Columbus but throughout the state.
- 8 — That the state house be used again for museum purposes as is entirely practical in the corridors; and that the society be asked to arrange for trained attendants who can explain to the thousands of people who visit the state house each month and the many thousands more who would visit it Saturday afternoons and Sundays if its present portraits and flags were explained entertainingly and were supplemented by loans from

the archæological museum; and to that end employ modern publicity methods of popularizing its messages, advertising its needs for funds as opportunities for public-spirited citizens, following up interest once awakened by interested and interesting correspondence, and guiding local historical societies, teachers of history and individual students in search for and enjoyment of important facts about Ohio's archæology and history.

- 9 — That Sunday exhibits at the museum itself be featured not only for university students but for residents of and visitors to Columbus.
- 10 — That the society become aggressive and militant and employ the methods which have made a great power for entertainment and education of the National Geographic Society and the American Museum of Natural History.
- 11 — That as part of its archæological museum it collect and exhibit graphic descriptions of progress in teaching history with a view to hastening the abandonment of methods in Ohio's schools or colleges that chill and crush the natural interest in the study of history which it is so important for a democracy to develop.

THE MAUMEE VALLEY IN THE DAYS OF WAYNE

In the *Indiana Magazine of History* for March is published a paper by Elmore Barce in which there is an interesting description of the valley of the Maumee River as it appeared before the conquest of the white man. It is described as a land of great richness and wild game was said to have been very plentiful. Ohio readers will be interested in the following excerpt:

"It was a region greatly beloved by the Indian tribes, and the scene after the Revolution, of many grand councils of the northwestern confederacy * * *.

"The army spent many days after the battle of Fallen Timbers in the destruction of the fields of grain. One who marched with Wayne's army, in August of the above year, describes Indian corn fields of four or five miles in length along the Au Glaize, and estimated that there were 1000 acres of growing corn. The whole valley of the Maumee from its mouth to Fort Wayne, is described as being full of immense corn fields, large vegetable patches, and old apple trees."



John Brown

OLD BROWN.

Old Lion! tangled in the net,
Baffled and spent, and wounded sore,
Bound, thou who ne'er knew bonds before,
A captive, but a lion yet.

Death kills not. In a later time,
(O, slow, but all-accomplishing!)
Thy shouted name abroad shall ring,
Wherever right makes war sublime.

When in the perfect scheme of God,
It shall not be a crime for deeds
To quicken liberating creeds,
And men shall rise where slaves have trod;

Then he, the fearless future Man,
Shall wash the blot and stain away,
We fix upon thy name today —
Thou hero of the noblest plan.

O, patience, felon of the hour!
Over thy ghastly gallows-tree
Shall climb the vine of Liberty,
With ripened fruit and fragrant flower.

— *Wm. D. Howells.*

December, 1859.



JOHN BROWN

Taking the oath of allegiance to the anti-slavery cause, 1857. From a daguerreotype in the Mr. and Mrs. T. B. Alexander collection in the Museum of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society. Later in life Brown wore a full beard.

JOHN BROWN.

The Great Republic bred her free-born sons
To smother conscience in the coward's hush,
And had to have a freedom-champion's
Blood sprinkled in her face to make her blush.

One will become a passion to avenge
Her shame — a fury consecrate and weird,
As if the old religion of Stonehenge
Amid our weakling worships reappeared.

It was a drawn sword of Jehovah's wrath,
Two-edged and flaming, waved back to a host
Of mighty shadows gathering on its path,
Soon to emerge as soldiers, when the ghost

Of John Brown should the lines of battle form:
When John Brown crossed the Nation's Rubicon,
Him freedom followed in the battle-storm,
And John Brown's soul in song went marching on.

Though John Brown's body lay beneath the sod,
His soul released the winds and loosed the flood;
The Nation wrought his will as hest of God,
And her blood-guiltiness atoned with blood.

The world may censure and the world regret;
The present wrath becomes the future ruth;
For stern old History does not forget
The man who flings his life away for truth.

In the far time to come, when it shall irk
The schoolboy to recite our Presidents
Dull line of memorabilia, John Brown's work
Shall thrill him through from all the elements.

— *Coates Kinney.*

July, 1897.

JOHN BROWN.

RY C. B. GALBREATH

INTRODUCTION.

"John Brown's body lies moldering in the grave
But his soul goes marching on."

So sang the Twelfth Massachusetts Regiment as it marched south to put down the rebellion and so have sung other regiments and men who never belonged to any military organization in almost every part of the North and West since the outbreak of the Civil War.

It is remarkable how old John Brown holds his place in the history and literature of his country. His name and deeds have been the theme of divided opinion and heated disputation, of eloquence and song, of eulogy and detraction, of generous praise and scathing criticism. If his spirit could speak today he might truthfully say, "I came not to send peace but a sword." Those who comment upon the part that he acted in the "storm of the years that are fading" find themselves arrayed one against another when they come to pass judgment upon his deeds, and not infrequently the critic exemplifies "a house divided against itself" and expresses in the same estimate opinions condemnatory and laudatory.

In undiminished measure his fame endures, however. Even at this late day interest in "Old John Brown of Osawatomie" persists, and since the beginning of the new century at least four pretentious volumes have

been devoted to his life and character. His name occurs at frequent intervals in current periodical and newspaper literature and a place for him in the history of the Republic seems to be assured.

In Ohio a distinct revival of interest in this remarkable man has followed the transfer of rare relics, which once belonged to John Brown and his warrior sons, to the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society. These include guns, swords, uniforms, surveying instruments, autograph letters, photographs and other items ranging from bullet molds to locks of the hair and beard of this sturdy old warrior in the anti-slavery cause.

These papers and relics are duly authenticated. They were for a long time in the possession of Captain John Brown, Jr., the eldest son of John Brown, who lived after the war at Put-in-Bay, Ohio, where he died in 1895. They then passed into the possession of his daughter who married Mr. T. B. Alexander and who still resides at Put-in-Bay. She and her husband transferred these rare and precious relics to the custody of the Society. The numerous visitors who almost daily come to the museum and library building of the Society invariably pause to view these souvenirs of the stirring times in Kansas and at Harper's Ferry.

This manifestation of interest has led the writer to attempt a series of articles for the *QUARTERLY* on "John Brown and His Men From Ohio." Of John Brown himself little remains to be written. His entire life from birth to execution has been subjected to the searching investigation of friend and foe. It is really remarkable with what patient research the different steps in the career of this man have been followed and with what

wealth of detail they have been recorded. It remains for the writer only to present that record in outline and emphasize such portions as relate to John Brown's life in Ohio. This is the necessary background for the contemplated sketches of his men from this state. A general knowledge of the character and purposes of the leader is essential to an understanding of the motives and actions of his followers.

Fortunate is the man who has a sympathetic biographer. Autobiography not infrequently leaves a more satisfactory impression with the casual reader than does biography. Someone has observed that Benjamin Franklin showed his wisdom in leaving to posterity a carefully prepared record of his life which has become a classic in our language. Other writers have been less classic and some of them less lenient. The first biography of the subject of this sketch, entitled *The Public Life of Captain John Brown*, was written by James Redpath, a man in hearty sympathy with Brown and so closely associated with him in Kansas that he may be classed among John Brown's men. His book bears the copyright date of 1860, had a wide sale and produced a profound impression. The author in a brief period collected a wealth of material favorable to his hero whom he valiantly defends against attack from whatever quarter. It is difficult even at this late day to read this record without living again in the times in which it was written and yielding to the fervent appeal presented by the author. To Redpath, John Brown was always right and the sainted martyr of his generation.

Redpath was a newspaper correspondent and a man of considerable literary ability. He witnessed the stirring scenes in Kansas but was not at Harper's Ferry.

A poem entitled "Brown's Address to His Men," evidently written by himself, reveals something of the spirit of the anti-slavery warriors in Kansas. We quote here the introductory and the concluding stanzas:

They are coming — men, make ready;
See their ensigns — hear their drum;
See them march with steps unsteady;
Onward to their graves they come.

* * * * *

We must conquer, we must slaughter;
We are God's rod, and his ire
Wills their blood shall flow like water:
In Jehovah's dread name — Fire!

While Redpath's book is a valuable contribution to the history of the times, it was written too soon and in the midst of an excitement so intense that inaccuracies naturally occur and it cannot claim the highest authority.

In another volume, *Echoes From Harper's Ferry*, issued in the same year, this author has performed a valuable service by collecting and publishing in permanent form the expressions of eminent men and women on the tragedy that closed with the execution of Brown and a number of his followers. This includes the views of Thoreau, Emerson, Theodore Parker, Henry Ward Beecher, James Freeman Clarke, William Lloyd Garrison, Victor Hugo, Mrs. M. J. C. Mason of Virginia and Rev. Moncure D. Conway of Cincinnati. There are quotations from scores of others almost equally prominent and a collection of the correspondence of John Brown. Ohioans will find interest in the fervid and prophetic address of Conway, which is full of the sentiment that pervaded the ranks of anti-slavery men in Ohio under the stress of the times.

In *John Brown, Liberator of Kansas and Martyr of Virginia*, F. B. Sanborn, the contemporary and associate

of Brown, has presented in over 600 compactly printed pages the life and the most complete collection of the letters of Brown that has been published. This work has gone through four editions, the last of which bears the date of 1910. Mr. Sanborn was the well known writer of Concord, and no study of the life and times of Brown can satisfactorily be made without frequent reference to this book, written by his associate and friend. Like the work of Redpath, this volume has been prepared by one in thorough sympathy with the purposes and achievements of Brown and must be regarded as the testimonial of a devoted lifetime friend.

Richard J. Hinton, another associate of Brown's, in 1894 published a most interesting volume entitled *John Brown and his Men*. The appearance of this contribution was most fortunate. In Kansas and at Harper's Ferry, Brown was so completely the dominating figure of the tragic scenes through which he passed that sight is almost lost of his followers. It is fortunate that one of these followers who personally knew the men that served under John Brown should collect all the available material in regard to the lives of these associates. We are apt to think of them sometimes as men like Brown himself, to overlook the fact that they were all much younger, in fact a majority of them might be termed boys, for some of them were not out of their teens and most of them had not reached their thirties. Though younger they were in thorough sympathy with Brown. Seven of them were his own sons. Almost without exception they had acquired the rudiments of an education in the common schools of their day and some of them, like Kagi and Cook, were men of wide reading and some literary ability, while Richard Raelf,

a wayward son of genius, was a poet whose writings are altogether worthy of the attractive volume in which they have been published with a memoir of his life. For our purpose this volume by Hinton has an especial value as it contains matter and references that will be very helpful in contemplated sketches of Kagi, the Coppoc brothers and John Brown's sons, six of whom were born in Ohio.

In 1911 Houghton Mifflin and Company issued a substantial and attractive volume of 738 pages entitled *John Brown, a Biography Fifty Years After*, by Oswald Garrison Villard, a grandson of William Lloyd Garrison. This work is the result of research study extending over more than three years. The author seems to have consulted every available source in his industrious quest and he came into contact by personal visit or letter with practically all of the survivors who had been associated with Brown or had been present at the time of the Harper's Ferry raid and the execution that followed it. In the preface of his book he states his purpose in language that needs no explanation. He says in part:

"Since 1886 there have appeared five other lives of Brown, the most important being that of Richard J. Hinton, who in his preface glories in holding a brief for Brown and his men. The present volume is inspired by no such purpose, but is due to a belief that fifty years after the Harper's Ferry tragedy the time is ripe for a study of John Brown, free from bias, from the errors in taste and fact of the mere panegyrist and from the blind prejudice of those who can see in John Brown nothing but a criminal. The pages that follow were written to detract from or champion no man or set of men, but to put forth the essential truths of history as far as ascertainable, and to judge Brown, his followers and associates in the light thereof."

There can be no doubt that Mr. Villard labored assiduously to bring his book up to the high standard set

forth above. His bibliography of manuscripts, books, documents and papers consulted covers twenty royal octavo pages of closely printed matter — a list of references so complete that it will probably not be extended. In dealing with the character of John Brown he most seriously criticises the warfare waged by him in Kansas prior to 1857. He especially condemns what he terms "Murder on the Pottawatomie" as without provocation or extenuating cause. There are other portions of the book that attest pretty clearly the declaration of the author that he is not holding a brief for John Brown.

Like his grandfather Garrison, Mr. Villard finds it difficult to justify the taking of human life or participation in deeds of bloodshed and violence. While he seeks to be rigidly just and to take into account the spirit of the times in which John Brown lived, his task is not an easy one and his conclusions invite criticism. When John Brown appealed to arms and ruthless warfare against the ruffian invaders, violence was manifest in legislative halls, on the plains of Kansas and wherever the burning question of slavery had divided the people into hostile parties. While Villard finds much to criticise in John Brown's eulogists, in the concluding chapter of his book entitled "Yet Shall He Live," he pays just tribute to the heroic qualities that Brown manifested while in prison and when with triumphant step he mounted the scaffold and took his place among the martyrs of history. The conclusion of his exhaustive study is presented in the last four sentences of his book:

"And so, wherever there is battling against injustice and oppression, the Charlestown gallows that became a cross will help men to live and die. The story of John Brown will ever confront the spirit of despotism, when men are struggling to throw

off the shackles of social or political or physical slavery. His own country, while admitting his mistakes without undue palliation or excuse, will forever acknowledge the divine that was in him by the side of what was human and faulty, and blind and wrong. It will cherish the memory of the prisoner of Charlestown in 1859 as at once a sacred, a solemn and an inspiring American heritage."

In no other part of the United States, perhaps, has there been more controversy over the subject of this sketch than in the state of Kansas. Here he first appealed to arms and here his friends claim that he struck the first telling blow which turned back the tide of Pro-Slavery invasion and ultimately made Kansas a free state.

When the war was on in the Territory of Kansas between the Free-State men and the Border Ruffians from Missouri and the South, the settlers who were opposed to slavery compromised their differences and fought shoulder to shoulder to make Kansas free. When they had triumphed and Kansas took her place in the Union without slavery, divisions began to spring up among the Free State men themselves, divisions which present the phenomenon not infrequently witnessed of factional differences in a triumphant party after a political campaign. Governor Robinson led one of the Free State factions, General Lane and the followers of John Brown united in another. The controversy raged over the question as to who had done most to save Kansas to freedom. The conflict was fanned to furious heat through political campaigns that followed the Civil War. Of course neither John Brown nor his sons were present to take part in the controversy, but the friends and enemies of Robinson and Lane waged with each other a long and bitter war of words, the echoes of

which come down to the present time. Governor Robinson became one of the wealthiest men in Kansas and it was asserted by his opponents not only that he had acquired his wealth unjustly but that he never hesitated to use it to advance his interests in the acrimonious contests that he waged. As an outgrowth of this controversy we have a life of John Brown written by William Elsey Connelley, a well known historian and at present Secretary of the Kansas Historical Society. After a careful survey of the Kansas field, Connelley took his place in the ranks of the friends of John Brown. While in his biography he admits the imperfections and mistakes of the hero of Black Jack and Osawatomie, he finds upon careful investigation extenuating circumstances that go far toward justifying all that John Brown did in Kansas. He stoutly defends the "Pottawatomie executions" and quotes eminent men to sustain his view. Among those quoted are Senator John J. Ingalls* and Professor L. Spring,† of the University of Kansas.

The appearance of Mr. Connelley's book stirred up Governor Robinson and his friends who raised many questions in regard to the authority of the work and rather severely criticised the author because of the con-

* Senator Ingalls, in the *North American Review*, of February, 1884, wrote: "It was the 'blood and iron' prescription of Bismarck. The Pro-Slavery butchers of Kansas and their Missouri confederates learned that it was no longer safe to kill. They discovered, at last, that nothing is so unprofitable as injustice. They started from the guilty dream to find before them, silent and tardy, but inexorable and relentless, with uplifted blade, the awful apparition of vengeance and retribution."

† On the Pottawatomie affair Professor Spring wrote: "Was the fanatic's expectation realized? Did the event approve his sagacity? I think there is but one answer to questions like these. After all, the fanatic was wiser than the philosopher. The effect of this retaliatory policy in checking outrages, in bringing to a pause the depredations of bandits, in staying the proposed execution of Free State prisoners was marvelous."

clusions that he had drawn from the study of his subject and the stirring times in which Kansas was born. If the critics thought that Connelley would calmly submit to their estimate of his work and be silent, they were seriously mistaken. Mr. Connelley wields a trenchant pen in dealing with the detractors of John Brown. The pamphlet in which he replied to their criticisms bears the title *An Appeal to the Record*. Those who had attacked him and his work assuredly discovered when this pamphlet of 130 pages appeared that they had caught a Tartar. He retaliated by holding up to public condemnation Governor Robinson, G. W. Brown and Eli Thayer. Their private lives are brought into serious question by sweeping general condemnations and with the promise to furnish detailed particulars for the indictment if occasion requires. Their public records are excoriated so mercilessly that their friends to this day must feel their blood tingle as they peruse the pages of the *Record*. His critics must have felt when this publication appeared much as did those of Byron when they read *English Bards and Scotch Reviewers*.

There appears never to have been a reply to the indignant "appeal," but its appearance was probably responsible for the publication in 1913 of a volume entitled "*John Brown, Soldier of Fortune, A Critique*," by Hills Peebles Wilson. This work is the most condemnatory that has been published on John Brown. It scoffs at his religious pretense, questions whether Brown ever really desired to liberate the slaves and hurls anathemas at all of his biographers who have said a word in his support. The author, however, gives Brown the credit of having carefully planned the Harper's Ferry raid which in his opinion almost succeeded. He scouts the contention that

he was insane. At the climax of his tirade he denounces Brown as "Grafter! Hypocrite! *Fiend!* MONSTER!" In the closing pages of his book he declares that Brown was "crafty in the sublimest degree of the art." He concludes his "critique" of 407 pages with these lines, quoting as a text the caption of the final chapter in Villard's book:

"'Yet Shall He Live': but it will be as a soldier of fortune, an adventurer. He will take his place in history as such; and will rank among adventurers as Napoleon ranks among marshals; as Captain Kidd among pirates; and as Jonathan Wild among thieves."

Assuredly here is fierce denunciation. This book for a time was read with much satisfaction by the critically inclined who place a low estimate upon humanitarian endeavor and reluctantly accord unselfish motives to others. Mr. Wilson places much stress on the word "grafter" throughout his work.

This book was widely circulated; but the effort thus to blacken the name of Brown in history came to a somewhat ignominious end. The widow of Governor Robinson, in the spirit of her husband, continued the warfare against the friends of Lane and Brown. Shortly after she died Wilson appealed for the money due him for writing the book. He had to produce his contract in court to get his pay. This he did, took the contract price, \$5000, and at latest reports was no longer a citizen of Kansas. This revelation detracted from the influence of the book and took much of the sting out of "grafter" and other epithets that the author so liberally hurled at old John Brown.

Peace now seems to reign among the history writers

of Kansas, with Connelley and his friends triumphant and the fame of John Brown again in the ascendant.

There is a life of John Brown by W. E. B. DuBois, the colored scholar and author, which is well worth reading. It may be regarded as an index of the ultimate attitude of the race for which Kansas bled and the gallows of Virginia ushered in the tragic drama of the Civil War. DuBois's book does credit to himself and his people. It reflects their gratitude for liberation from bondage, and the estimate of Brown's followers who fought to accomplish this is thoughtful and conservative. It is evident, however, that the author has in mind the present and future of his race and a somber appreciation of prejudices to be overcome and wrongs to be righted. He insists that the negro still suffers grievous injustice; that the times call for another John Brown to batter down the walls and break the fetters that deprive his people of the rights and opportunities which should be theirs under our institutions. He has a grievance to present and a purpose to accomplish; he gets a hearing through his ably written biography of John Brown, even as Charles Sumner in his scholarly lecture on Lafayette found an avenue for an attack on the institution of slavery.

John Brown appears to have appealed strongly to literary men of other lands. Victor Hugo, perhaps the greatest writer of his age, himself an exile at the time of the raid, was quick to express eloquent appreciation. Later he joined with French republican associates in striking a gold medal for the widow of John Brown and sending it to her with the remarkable letter which is found elsewhere in this issue of the *QUARTERLY*. Dr.

Hermann von Holst, the gifted and cultured German, who came to the United States and attained eminence as a historian of our institutions, has left a tribute to Brown in an extended essay which was brought out in a separate publication by Frank Preston Stearns in 1889.

There are other biographies and monographs; there are pamphlets and periodical articles almost without number. Reference to the foregoing works is made for the convenience of the average reader who may wish to know something of the books that will most likely be within his reach, their authors and the purpose for which each was written.

In this connection it may be worth while to bear in mind that the writer of this contribution and others that are in contemplation was born and reared under Quaker influences and that as he writes memory frequently reverts to a Quaker grandfather who, like others of his faith, was valiant in the war of words against the institution of slavery but deplored the shedding of blood and the clash of arms that came as the result of the agitation. His sympathy with Brown was heightened by the fact that two Quaker boys from a neighboring farm went to Harper's Ferry and one of them followed his chief to the gallows at Charlestown. The story of this youth, his tragic fate and the outpouring of people to attend his funeral is still rehearsed in the little community where Edwin Coppoc was born and near which his mortal remains are at rest. If bias marks aught that is here written, may it be credited to the influence of those fire-side memories.

Any adequate estimate of the character and career of John Brown should, of course, take into consideration

the record and spirit of the times in which he lived. This seems to be conceded by all who have seriously written on the subject and they have collected and published materials that make unnecessary extended additional research. Mr. Villard in his exhaustive work has stated in consecutive order the cumulative offenses on both sides of the controversy over slavery. It is difficult to read these without reaching the conclusion that deeds of violence and the bloody sequel of Civil War were inevitable. In the light of what he himself has written, some of his judgments against John Brown's operations in Kansas may seem unduly severe. To anti-slavery settlers conditions had become intolerable. Reprisals and retribution were the results.

A review of the long controversy over slavery need not be presented here. It is sufficient to know that when Brown and his sons went to Kansas hostile thoughts were finding expression in action — that violent words were emphasized by cruel blows — that heated appeals from the rostrum were marshalling the hosts for ensanguined battle fields.

Years before this in the state of Illinois Lovejoy had been shot while defending his right through his paper to oppose slavery, and for a similar offense Garrison had been mobbed in the streets of Boston. It is difficult for the rising generation to understand that men are still living who can remember the raid of anti-slavery newspapers, even in Ohio, and the treatment of at least one editor to a liberal coat of tar and feathers.

As early as 1830 the condition of affairs in Kentucky was set forth in a message of the governor of that state in which he declared that "men slaughter each other almost with impunity" and urged the legislature to take

action to prevent a condition that made Kentucky still the "dark and bloody ground." John Quincy Adams was denounced for his anti-slavery utterances and this toast was offered at a southern banquet: "May we never want * * * a hangman to prepare a halter for John Quincy Adams." On more than one occasion the pistol and the bowie knife were brandished in the Congress of the United States and Pro-Slavery newspapers put a price on the heads of their eminent opponents: "Five thousand dollars for that of William H. Seward and ten thousand dollars for the delivery in Richmond of Joshua R. Giddings," the representative in Congress of the Ohio Western Reserve, the home of John Brown and his family.

The Pro-Slavery men who rushed to Kansas in order to fix upon it their "peculiar institution," were not less violent than the extremists of the states from which they came. Before John Brown reached the Territory it had been the scene of strife and bloodshed over the question of slavery. The invasion from Missouri and the South was in full sway. His sons who had preceeded him were already involved in the controversy. They were outspoken in their attitude of hostility to slavery. John Brown, Jr., on June 25, 1855, was chosen vice-president of the Free State Convention held in Lawrence on that day. He was on the committee that reported among other resolutions one containing this "defy" to the Missourians: "In reply to the threats of war so frequently made in our neighbor state, our answer is, 'WE ARE READY'." For this attitude the Browns were "marked men," long before their father appeared on the scene.

At previous elections the state had been overrun by

Missourians, and the most flagrant frauds had been openly perpetrated. At the election for delegate to Congress November 29, 1854, they cast 1729 fraudulent votes. In one district where the census three months later showed only 53 voters, 602 votes were cast and counted. At the election of members of the Territorial Legislature, March 30, 1855, this outrage was even more brazenly repeated. "Of 6307 votes cast, nearly five-sixths were those of the invaders." The Pro-Slavery party by intimidation and violence elected all the members of the legislature except one and he afterward resigned. This was the famous Lecompton Legislature which forced upon the people of Kansas the Missouri code, including the institution of slavery.* It even went farther and made it a criminal offense for anyone to entertain and express opinions hostile to that institution.

There had been a number of "killings," how many is not definitely known. Some who met this fate are specifically named in the report of the Howard Congressional Committee on which John Sherman, of Ohio, was a member. Others are reported, among them the shooting of Charles Dow, a Free State man from Ohio. Practically every person in Kansas went armed and the seeds of civil war were freely sown. The fact that the Pierce administration at Washington was doing about everything in its power to help fasten the institution of slavery on Kansas made the situation doubly irritating for the Free-State settlers. There was elected by votes from Missouri a sheriff of Lawrence County, Kansas, who at the same time held the position of postmaster in

* This is the "Kansas Legislature" referred to by John Brown in his letter of February 20, 1856, to Joshua R. Giddings.

Westport, Missouri. It is needless to say that this sheriff was a source of trouble in this stronghold of the Free-State men.

The early part of the winter 1855-1856 passed rather quietly. The Free State men were gathering strength and organizing for the admission of Kansas without slavery. Their convention adopted a constitution and a Free State legislature was chosen. John Brown, Jr., was elected to the latter.†

On January 24, 1856, President Pierce sent to Congress a message that fanned to flaming heat the resentment of the Free State men. It characterized their acts in attempting to organize the state as revolutionary and likely to lead to "treasonable insurrection." This message was followed by a proclamation placing the United States troops at Fort Riley at the service of Governor Shannon, who was in complete sympathy with the movement to make Kansas a slave state. This proclamation foreshadowed the dissolution of the Free State Topeka Legislature by the military forces of the United States. The feelings that this aroused in John Brown are fully revealed in the following letter to Joshua R. Giddings, then representing the Western Reserve District of Ohio in Congress:

OSAWATOMIE, KANSAS TERRITORY, 20th Feby, 1856.

HON. JOSHUA R. GIDDINGS,
Washington, D. C.

DEAR SIR,

I write to say that a number of the United States Soldiers are quartered in this vicinity for the ostensible purpose of removing *intruders* from certain Indian Lands. It is, however, believed that the Administration has no thought of removing

† The Free State legislature was chosen by the Free State party. The Pro-Slavery party did not participate in the election.

the Missourians from the Indian Lands; but that the real object is to have these men in readiness to act in the enforcement of those *Hellish enactments* of the (so called) Kansas Legislature; absolutely abominated by a great majority of the inhabitants of the Territory; and spurned by them up to this time. I confidently believe that the next movement on the part of the Administration and its Proslavery masters will be to drive the people here, either to submit to those Infernal enactments; or to assume what will be termed *treasonable grounds* by shooting down the poor soldiers of the country with whom they have no quarrel whatever. I ask in the name of Almighty God; I ask in the name of our venerated fore-fathers; I ask in the name of all that good or true men ever held dear; will Congress suffer us to be driven to such "dire extremities"? *Will anything be done?* Please send me a few lines at this place. Long acquaintance with your public life, and a slight personal acquaintance incline and embolden me to make this appeal to yourself.

Everything is still on the surface here just now. Circumstances, however, are of a most suspicious character.

Very respectfully yours,

JOHN BROWN.

This letter received prompt attention at the hands of the militant Congressman who replied in part:

"You need have no fear of the troops. The President will never *dare* employ the troops of the United States to shoot the citizens of Kansas. The death of the first man by the troops will involve every free state in your own fate. It will light up the fires of Civil War throughout the North, and we shall stand or fall with you. Such an act will also bring the President so deep in infamy that the hand of political resurrection will never reach him."

On the day that Brown wrote the letter to Joshua R. Giddings, February 20, 1856, *The Squatter Sovereign* said editorially:

"In our opinion the only effectual way to correct the evils that now exist is to hang up to the nearest tree the very last traitor who was instrumental in getting up, or participating in, the celebrated Topeka Convention."

More than a month previous the Pro-Slavery men had acted in the spirit of this advice. Captain Reese P. Brown (not related to the subject of this sketch) shortly after he had been elected a member of the Topeka Free-State Legislature, was brutally murdered by Pro-Slavery men who rushed around him and "literally hacked him to death with their hatchets." When his bleeding body, from which life was not yet extinct, was thrown at the feet of his wife she swooned and awoke a raving maniac. The morning following this deed *The Kansas Pioneer* came out with this lurid appeal:

"Sound the bugle of war over the length and breadth of the land and leave not an abolitionist in the territory to relate their treacherous and contaminating deeds. Strike your piercing rifle balls and your glittering steel to their black and poisonous hearts."

The killing of Reese P. Brown was scarcely more gruesome than others occurring about the same time. It is here given because the victim was elected to the Topeka Legislature in which John Brown, Jr., later (March 8, 1856) acted on a committee that condemned the "cold blooded murder" of their fellow member.

For his activity in this Legislature, John Brown, Jr., was made to pay a terrible penalty as will be shown later in a sketch of his life. From the little that has here been said it may be seen that the subversion of the ballot-box was complete and that violence was rife in Kansas before the affair at the Pottawatomie.

In the meantime the war of words on the hustings and in legislative halls was not less violent than deeds on the plains of Kansas. At times it is difficult to say which was echo of the other. In Congress the speeches turned more and more upon the struggle to fix slavery

on Kansas Territory and the parties to the fray on that western frontier were stirred to more desperate action by the charges and counter-charges, denunciations and appeals of their friends back east.

Excitement went up to fever heat when Preston Brooks, a member of the House of Representatives from South Carolina, accompanied by a colleague from that state and one from Virginia, made a violent attack upon Charles Sumner, a senator from the state of Massachusetts. Sumner on the 19th day of May, 1856, delivered a notable speech in the Senate in which he most severely arraigned the slave power and its defenders in Congress. He was eloquent in his defense of the Free State settlers of Kansas and contrasted their spirit with that exhibited by the people of South Carolina. He compared the women of Lawrence with "the matrons of Rome who poured their jewels into the treasury for the public defense":

"It would be difficult to find anything in the history of South Carolina," said he, "which presents as much heroic spirit in an heroic cause as shines in that repulse of the Missouri invaders by the beleaguered town of Lawrence, where even the women gave their effective efforts to freedom."

And in conclusion, turning to Senator Butler, he said:

"Ah, sir, I tell the senator that Kansas, welcomed as a free state, 'a ministering angel shall be' to the Republic, when South Carolina, in the cloak of darkness which she hugs, 'lies howling'."

There were bitter personalities exchanged in the course of this debate. Two days afterward Brooks of South Carolina with his two confederates approached Sumner where he was sitting at his desk in the senate chamber. As he raised his cane he shouted to Sumner,

"I have read your speech over twice carefully; it is a libel on South Carolina and Mr. Butler who is a relative of mine." With these words he rained blow upon blow upon Sumner's head and arms. The senator struggled to rise, but before he could successfully defend himself he fell bleeding from more than twenty wounds on the floor of the senate chamber. Senator Crittenden of Kentucky started to assist Sumner but was prevented by Representative Keitt, of South Carolina, Representative Edmundson, of Virginia, and others who shouted: "Let them alone." "Don't interfere." "Go it, Brooks." "Give the Abolitionist h—l." With shouts like these, interspersed with oaths, the senate chamber rang as the confederates of Brooks with raised canes prevented any interference.

The subsequent history of this outrage is too well known to be repeated here. For almost four years Sumner was unable to return to the Senate.

The news of this disgraceful affair reached John Brown's men on their way to the Pottawatomie. It spurred them on to action swift and terrible. The blows struck in the Senate of the United States reached to Kansas — and farther. The memory of the Sumner assault is revived here simply to show the unfortunate condition into which the whole country had drifted as a result of the anti-slavery controversy. When such a deed of violence could occur in broad daylight in the highest legislative body of our land, what might not be expected, under the then existing conditions, when the news of it reached the Kansas frontier?

Shortly after the Pottawatomie tragedy and before authentic account of it had reached the East, Abraham Lincoln caught the spirit of the hour and in his famous

speech at Bloomington, Illinois, May 29, 1856, proclaimed:

"We must highly resolve that Kansas must be free * * * let us draw a cordon so to speak around the slave states, and the hateful institution, like a reptile poisoning itself, will perish by its own infamy."

He reached the climax in this speech in these words:

"There is a power and a magic in popular opinion. To that let us now appeal; and while, in all probability, no resort to force will be needed, our moderation and forbearance will stand us in good stead when, if ever, *we must make an appeal to battle and the God of hosts.*"

Quotations might be extended almost without limit to show that the spirit of war was in the air throughout our land when the first red drops of the approaching storm were falling on the plains of Kansas.

The affair for which John Brown has been most frequently and seriously criticised was preceded, it should always be remembered, by the burning and sacking of the town of Lawrence, the headquarters of the Free State men in Kansas territory. To avenge wrongs done the "highly honorable Jones" who was at the same time holding the position of postmaster of Westport, Missouri, and sheriff of Lawrence County, Kansas, a band of border ruffians numbering about 1200 and led by former United States Senator Atchison of Missouri appeared before the town. The citizens determined to offer no resistance and to put up to the authorities of the United States the responsibility for what might follow. After they had surrendered Atchison in a fiery speech said to his followers among other things:

"And now we will go with our highly honorable Jones, and test the strength of that damned Free State Hotel. Be brave,

be orderly, and if any man or woman stand in your way, blow them to hell with a chunk of cold lead."

The border ruffians, many of whom were inflamed by drink, sacked the town, destroyed two newspaper offices and threw the types, papers, presses and books into the river. A number of cannon shots were then fired into the Free State Hotel which was soon on fire and went up in flames. When it lay in ruins the "highly honorable Jones" shouted in glee: "This is the happiest moment of my life. I have done it, by God I have done it."

It has been sometimes claimed that John Brown was in Lawrence at the time its destruction began. This is hardly true, however, as there would have been resolute resistance if he had been there. Some of his friends have claimed that what he saw at Lawrence was his excuse for the act of vengeance on the Pottawatomie, but Villard marshals a lot of evidence to show that John Brown was probably not present and that therefore he could not offer what he saw in excuse for what he later did. It seems very inconsequential whether he was present or not. He certainly heard of what occurred on the 21st of May before the action of his followers on the Pottawatomie on the night of the 24th of that month. And the conclusion cannot be escaped that he and his followers, with this fresh demonstration that the government of the United States would do nothing to preserve life and the semblance of civilization in Kansas, resolved to take the law into their own hands and by a terrible reprisal notify the Border Ruffians that henceforth they would send their hordes into Kansas at their own peril, that their armed assassins coming over the

border would, in the language of Corwin, "be welcomed with bloody hands to hospitable graves."

The Pottawatomie affair, as Villard states, has caused perhaps more discussion than any other event in the history of Kansas Territory. Upon this the enemies of John Brown invariably dwell at length, while his friends are equally explicit with their apologies and defenses. Five Pro-Slavery men were killed on the night of May 24, 1856, and it is now generally admitted that they met their fate at the hands of John Brown and his followers. John Brown himself killed no one, it is claimed, but he was present and later assumed full responsibility for what was done. John Brown, Jr. was some distance away and did not learn of the tragedy until some time after it had occurred. Colonel Richard J. Hinton in his *John Brown and His Men* fully justifies what was done and terms it the "Pottawatomie executions." Villard strongly condemns the participants in what he terms the "Murder on the Pottawatomie."

The five Pro-Slavery men on Pottawatomie Creek were seized without warning and ruthlessly slain. Full particulars are given by Villard, Sanborn and Hinton. Although this action is strongly condemned by Villard, in his analysis of the motive of Brown, he says:

"He believed that a collision was inevitable in the spring, and Jones and Donaldson proved him to be correct. Fired with indignation at the wrongs he witnessed on every hand, impelled by the Covenanter's spirit that made him so strange a figure in the nineteenth century, and believing fully that there should be an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth, he killed his men in the conscientious belief that he was a faithful servant of Kansas and of the Lord. He killed not to kill, but to free; not to make wives widows and children fatherless, but to attack on its own ground the hideous institution of human slavery, against which his whole life was a protest. He pictured himself a

modern crusader as much empowered to remove the unbeliever as any armored searcher after the Grail."

Villard also states that the action of John Brown on the Pottawatomie was generally approved in after years by the Free State men of Kansas and that many of them went on record to the effect that it was necessary for the protection of the Free State settlers and prepared the way for the final deliverance of Kansas from the institution of slavery.

In this introductory paper no attempt will be made to differentiate the conscientious convictions that the North and the South brought to the controversy. At this late day no serious effort will be made, it is presumed, to prove that the institution of slavery was fundamentally right and that it should have been perpetuated under our flag. At the time of John Brown's activity in the anti-slavery cause, however, the people of the South believed that their "peculiar system" could be justified on the highest moral grounds and their ministers of the gospel eloquently defended it from the pulpit, basing their conclusions on extended quotations from Holy Writ. An overwhelming majority of the white citizens of the United States who lived south of the Mason and Dixon line regarded the abolition movement as an attack upon them and their property, designed to incite a servile insurrection with horrors similar to those that signalized the uprising of the blacks against their masters in San Domingo. In view of this fact, the excesses of the slave power and its agents in Kansas and Virginia are self-explanatory.

The action of the people of Virginia at Harper's Ferry and Charlestown has been criticised, ridiculed and

bitterly condemned. The treatment of the prisoners who were captured at Harper's Ferry, however, stands out in redeeming relief. The jailer, Captain Avis, and Sheriff Campbell were so considerate that the prisoners paid frequent tribute to their kind and chivalrous conduct. Much must be said also to the credit of Governor Wise whose testimony to the high character and sterling qualities of John Brown was truly remarkable when we consider the circumstances under which it was uttered. It must also be remembered that he was so impressed by the conduct of Edwin Coppoc and his Quaker friends that he desired to commute the sentence of this youth to imprisonment for life and was only dissuaded by action of the Legislature of Virginia. In spite of the excitement attending the raid and the excesses incident to its suppression Virginia maintained and exhibited a degree of her traditional chivalry.

Elsewhere will be presented a statement of the wonderful change in popular opinion that was wrought in large measure by John Brown and his men. The Civil War soon followed and the leaders who were prominent in opposing John Brown by force of arms at Harper's Ferry to maintain the supremacy of the laws of the United States and Virginia were soon afterwards themselves in uniforms of gray fighting to overthrow the Republic that they had sworn to defend; while the followers of John Brown who survived the raid and the gallows were in uniforms of blue fighting to preserve the Union.

Of special importance, as we have already intimated, to all readers of the *QUARTERLY* is Ohio's relation to the work of John Brown and his men. Brown himself came to the village of Hudson, "the capital of our West-

ern Reserve," when he was only five years old and grew up to manhood with the pioneers of our state. Of seven sons that aided him in his warfare against slavery six were born in Ohio and all were reared in this state. Of other followers John Henri Kagi, who was killed at Harper's Ferry, was born in Trumbull County, Ohio, and Edwin Coppoc, who was executed at Charlestown, Virginia, was born in Columbiana County, Ohio, as was his brother Barclay who escaped from Harper's Ferry and afterwards lost his life while serving his country as lieutenant in a Kansas regiment of volunteers.

Lewis Sherrard Leary, who was killed at Harper's Ferry, and John A. Copeland, who was executed at Charlestown, were both colored, born in other states but Ohioans by adoption, and went from their homes in Oberlin to join John Brown at Chambersburg, Pennsylvania.

Wilson Shannon and Samuel Medary at different times served as governor of Kansas Territory. The former was appointed by President Pierce and the latter by President Buchanan. Both were from Ohio and had been prominent in the political annals of this state. Shannon had been its governor.

Other Ohio men less prominent were not less powerful in shaping the destiny of Kansas in the days of stress and controversy over slavery. They were so numerous that they were the dominating influence in the convention that gave Kansas her free constitution. The census of 1860 shows that Ohio had at that time contributed more than any other state to the population of Kansas.

One of the men who at Harper's Ferry plied old John Brown with questions for the evident purpose of impli-

cating prominent anti-slavery statesmen in the raid, was Clement L. Vallandigham, the congressman from Ohio, destined himself to lose the road to eminence in the mighty conflict soon to follow.

One of the youthful followers of Brown, as will later be seen, lost his life through the burning of a bridge by Quantrill, the Confederate guerrilla chieftain, who was also born in Ohio. Assuredly in this labyrinth of tragedy Ohioans were conspicuously involved.

CHIEFLY BIOGRAPHICAL

Biographies of John Brown properly and necessarily start with Plymouth Rock. His ancestor, Peter Brown the carpenter, came over in the *Mayflower* with the Pilgrims in December, 1620.

Detailed information is available in a number of works relative to the descendants of this ancestor. It is unnecessary to repeat here all that has been written. Peter Brown died in 1633 and his remains were buried at Duxbury near those of the famous Captain Standish whose monument now rises from the little promontory that faces the sea.

Peter Brown of the *Mayflower* left a son named after himself who moved to Windsor, Connecticut, shortly prior to 1658. He here became the father of thirteen children, one of whom, John Brown, was born January 8, 1668. He grew to manhood and was the father of eleven children, one of whom, John Brown second, was born in 1700 and died in 1790. His son, Captain John Brown of West Simsbury, was the grandfather of John Brown of Osawatomie and Harper's Ferry fame. This grandfather was a soldier in the Revolution and died in the service, leaving a widow and eleven chil-

dren, one of whom was born after he entered the army. This widow's maiden name was Owen and one of her sons named Owen was the father of John Brown, the militant opponent of slavery. A detailed account of his ancestry shows that Welsh, Dutch and English blood mingled in his veins. Both of his grandfathers were officers in the Revolution and one of them, as we have seen, died in the service.

Owen Brown lived for a time in the town of West Simsbury, now Canton, Connecticut. "Town" is used here in the New England sense and means township. Later he moved to Torrington, Connecticut, where his son John was born May 9, 1800. In 1804 he made a journey to what was then the far West and visited Hudson, Ohio, with the thought of locating there. One year afterward he brought his family in a wagon drawn by an ox team, chose his place of habitation and became a citizen of the young state, Ohio.

The maiden name of John Brown's mother was Ruth Mills. Her father, Lieutenant Gideon Mills, moved to Ohio in 1800, five years before Owen Brown and his family came to the state.

Fortunately for those interested, Owen Brown when nearly eighty years old and while living at Hudson wrote a biography covering rather fully the events of his life. This autobiography has a general interest for the reader as it details the experiences, the trials, reverses and triumphs of the pioneers of our state and especially those who came over from Connecticut and settled on the Western Reserve. This brief narrative is taken up largely with the things that interested the average emigrant from the East who settled in this section. Much of it is devoted to family interests, the

record of the births and deaths of numerous children, the pursuits of the pioneers, efforts to get the merest rudiments of an education and the religious experiences which made up a prominent part of the history of Hudson and the surrounding country.

Omitting the larger portion of this autobiography because it is readily accessible in *The Life and Letters of John Brown* by F. B. Sanborn, we here quote some of the paragraphs that relate especially to that portion of the life of Owen Brown that was spent in Ohio:

"We arrived in Hudson on the 27th of July, and were received with many tokens of kindness. We did not come to a land of idleness; neither did I expect it. Our ways were as prosperous as we had reason to expect. I came with a determination to help build up and be a help, in the support of religion and civil order. We had some hardships to undergo, but they appear greater in history than they were in reality. I was often called to go into the woods to make division of lands, sometimes sixty or seventy miles from home, and be gone some weeks, sleeping on the ground, and that without serious injury.

"When we came to Ohio the Indians were more numerous than the white people, but were very friendly, and I believe were a benefit rather than an injury. In those days there were some that seemed disposed to quarrel with the Indians, but I never had those feelings. They brought us venison, turkeys, fish, and the like; sometimes they wanted bread or meal more than they could pay for at the time, but were always faithful to pay their debts. In September, 1806, there was a difficulty between two tribes; the tribe on the Cuyahoga River came to Hudson, and asked for assistance to build them a log-house that would be a kind of fort to shelter their women and children from the fire-arms of their enemy. Most of our men went with teams, and chopped, drew, and carried logs, and put up a house in one day, for which they appeared very grateful. They were our neighbors until 1812, but when the war commenced with the British, the Indians left these parts mostly, and rather against my wishes."

A glimpse of what the second war with England meant to this pioneer community may be had from the following quotation:

"In July, 1812, the war with England began; and this war called loudly for action, liberality, and courage. This was the most active part of my life. We were then on the frontier, and the people were much alarmed, particularly after the surrender of General Hull at Detroit. Our cattle, horses, and provisions were all wanted. Sick soldiers were returning, and needed all the assistance that could be given them. There was great sickness in different camps, and the travel was mostly through Hudson, which brought sickness into our families. By the first of 1813 there was great mortality in Hudson. My family were sick, but we had no deaths."

John Brown inherited his opposition to slavery. This is clearly set forth in a statement by his father written about 1850:

"I am an abolitionist. I know we are not loved by many; I have no confession to make for being one, yet I wish to tell how long I have been one, and how I became so. I have no hatred to negroes. When a child four or five years old, one of our nearest neighbors had a slave that was brought from Guinea. In the year 1776 my father was called into the army at New York, and left his work undone. In August, our good neighbor, Captain John Fast, of West Simsbury, let my mother have the labor of his slave to plough a few days. I used to go out into the field with this slave, — called Sam, — and he used to carry me on his back, and I fell in love with him. He worked but a few days, and went home sick with the pleurisy, and died very suddenly. When told that he would die, he said that he should go to Guinea, and wanted victuals put up for the journey. As I recollect, this was the first funeral I ever attended in the days of my youth. There were but three or four slaves in West Simsbury. In the year 1790, when I lived with the Rev. Jeremiah Hallock, the Rev. Samuel Hopkins, D. D., came from Newport, and I heard him talking with Mr. Hallock about slavery in Rhode Island, and he denounced it as a great sin. I think in the same summer Mr. Hallock had sent to him a sermon or pamphlet-book, written by the Rev. Jonathan Edwards, then at New Haven. I read it, and it denounced slavery as a great sin. From this time I was anti-slavery, as much as I be now."

In 1857 when John Brown was in the midst of warfare against slavery and stationed at Red Rock, Iowa, he wrote in fulfillment of a promise a sketch of his life

for Henry L. Stearns, a boy only thirteen years old. The occasion of the writing of this sketch was the gratitude of Brown to Mr. George Luther Stearns, a wealthy merchant and manufacturer of Boston whom Brown visited shortly after Christmas in 1856. Stearns had a beautiful home at Medford and here he entertained his guest, with whose anti-slavery views he was in cordial sympathy. The oldest son of the family was much interested in Brown and gave him some money that he had been saving to buy shoes for "one of those little Kansas children." When Brown left the boy exacted from him a promise that he would write the story of his boyhood days. This he did later at Red Rock, Iowa, and sent it to the Stearns family. The manuscript is still in existence. It has been published many times and we quote from it simply within the limitations of what may especially interest Ohio readers. He speaks of the long journey to Ohio which he distinctly remembered, always referring to himself in the third person:

"When he was five years old his father moved to Ohio, then a wilderness filled with wild beasts and Indians. During the long journey, which was performed in part or mostly with an ox team, he was called by turns to assist a boy five years older, who had been adopted by his father and mother."

It is rather remarkable that no difference how large these pioneer families were they always seemed to have room for additions by adoption. The doors were usually open to a child or youth for varied periods of time as we shall see later. Again Brown in speaking of his coming to Ohio says:

"After getting to Ohio in 1805 he was for some time rather afraid of the Indians and their rifles, but this soon wore out and he used to hang about them quite as much as was consistent with good manners and learned a trifle of their talk."

He then proceeds to tell how he learned the tanner's trade under the direction of his father and to detail his youthful experiences, his association with Indian children and his fondness for pets. Of schooling he received very little. He says:

"Indeed when for a short time he was sometimes sent to school, the opportunity it afforded to wrestle and snowball and run and jump and knock off old seedy wool hats offered him almost the only compensation for the confinement and restraints of school."

As he grew older larger responsibilities came to him and he drove cattle, sometimes a distance of a hundred miles. His experiences at this period are the foundations from which Elbert Hubbard built up much of his interesting novel, *Time and Chance*. As set forth in that story, Zanesville, Ohio, was the destination of this boy herdsman. We quote from what he has to say in regard to the war with England, as he saw it, and the influences that made him a foe to slavery:

"When the war broke out with England, his father soon commenced furnishing the troops with beef cattle, the collecting and driving of which afforded him some opportunity for the chase (on foot) of wild steers and other cattle through the woods. During this war he had some chance to form his own boyish judgment of men and measures and to become somewhat familiarly acquainted with some who have figured before the country since that time. The effect of what he saw during the war was to so far disgust him with military affairs that he would neither train or drill but paid fines and got along like a Quaker until his age finally has cleared him of military duty.

"During the war with England a circumstance occurred that in the end made him a most determined abolitionist and led him to declare or swear eternal war with slavery. He was staying for a short time with a very gentlemanly landlord, since a United States Marshal, who held a slave boy near his own age, very active, intelligent and good feeling and to whom John was under considerable obligation for numerous little acts of kindness. The master made a great pet of John, brought him to table with his

first company and friends, called their attention to every little smart thing he said or did and to the fact of his being more than a hundred miles from home with a company of cattle alone, while the negro boy (who was fully if not more than his equal) was badly clothed, poorly fed and lodged in cold weather and beaten before his eyes with iron shovels or any other thing that came first to hand. This brought John to reflect on the wretched, hopeless condition of fatherless and motherless slave children, for such children have neither fathers or mothers to protect and provide for them. He sometimes would raise the question, is God their Father?"

Of his early religious experiences he says:

"John had been taught from earliest childhood to 'fear God and keep His commandments;' and though quite skeptical he had always by turns felt much serious doubt as to his future well being and about this time became to some extent a convert to Christianity and ever after a firm believer in the divine authenticity of the Bible. With this book he became very familiar and possessed a most unusual memory of its entire contents."

Again he reverts to his work at Hudson. He says:

"From fifteen to twenty years old, he spent most of his time at the tanner and currier's trade, keeping bachelor's hall and he officiating as cook and for most of the time as foreman in the establishment under his father."

While this youth was working in his father's tannery, another boy by the name of Jesse Grant, whose parents had come from Connecticut to Pennsylvania and later to Ohio, came to the Brown home and was admitted to the family. He and young John Brown worked side by side daily and became much attached to each other. Little did either dream of the future before him. John was to become the father of sons who should give their lives in an effort to overthrow the institution of slavery, and Jesse was to become the father of the general who should lead armed hosts to bind the states closer together and make freedom universal in America.

Ulysses S. Grant, the son of Jesse, in his memoirs completed at Mt. McGregor July 1, 1885, has this to say of his father's apprenticeship in the tannery of Owen Brown:

"He went first, I believe, with his half-brother, Peter Grant, who, though not a tanner himself, owned a tannery in Maysville, Kentucky. Here he learned his trade, and in a few years returned to Deerfield and worked for, and lived in the family of a Mr. Brown, the father of John Brown—'whose body lies mouldering in the grave, while his soul goes marching on.' I have often heard my father speak of John Brown, particularly since the events at Harper's Ferry. Brown was a boy when they lived in the same house, but he knew him afterwards, and regarded him as a man of great purity of character, of high moral and physical courage, but a fanatic and extremist in whatever he advocated. It was certainly the act of an insane man to attempt the invasion of the South, and the overthrow of slavery, with less than twenty men."

In the War of 1812, Owen Brown contracted to furnish beef to Hull's army, which with his boy John he followed to or near Detroit. Though John was but twelve years old, in after years he recalled very distinctly the incidents of the long march, the camp life of the soldiers and the attitude of the subordinate officers toward their commander. From conversations that he overheard he concluded that they were not very loyal to General Hull. He remembered especially General Lewis Cass, then a captain, and General Duncan McArthur. As late as 1857 he referred to conversations between the two and among other officers that should have branded them as mutineers. How much of this has foundation in fact and how much is due to erroneous youthful impression, must of course remain a matter of conjecture.

Like most children of his day John Brown had very meager educational opportunities at Hudson. He sup-

plemented the rudiments that he there acquired in the schools and the church by reading such standard books as *Æsop's Bables*, *Life of Franklin* and *Pilgrim's Progress*.

At the age of sixteen years he joined the Congregational Church at Hudson and later thought seriously of studying for the ministry. With this purpose in view he returned to Connecticut and entered a preparatory school at Plainfield, intending later to take a course at Amherst College. Inflammation of his eyes, however, prevented him from continuing his studies and he soon returned to Hudson. Later at odd moments he studied surveying and attained skill and accuracy in its practice. In 1820 he owned a copy of *Flint's Survey*. Some of his surveying instruments are in the Museum of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, including his pocket and his field compasses, both in excellent state of preservation. His chief occupation, however, from 1819 to 1839 was the tanning of leather.

That John Brown was a normal youth is attested by the fact that he early fell deeply in love. This was not reciprocated and he wrote in a letter about forty years afterward that as a result he "felt for a number of years in early life a steady, strong desire to die." That he was normal is also proven by the fact that he was later comforted and married Diantha Lusk of Hudson, Ohio, June 21, 1820. She was an excellent woman, very devout and fully shared her husband's faith and enthusiasms. On July 25, 1821, the first child of this union, John Brown, Jr., was born. Among his earliest recollections was the presence in the home one night of some fugitive slaves that his father was helping on their way

to freedom. This was about the year 1825. Further details of this reminiscence are reserved for a future sketch of John Brown, Jr.

Anticipating for the moment events extending over a number of years, the names of the first and second wives of John Brown and of his children are here given with dates of births and deaths so far as known:

John Brown's first wife, as we have learned, was Diantha Lusk. They were married June 21, 1820. She died August 10, 1832. The children of this union were born, married and died as follows:

John Brown, Jr., born July 25, 1821, at Hudson, Ohio; died May 2, 1895; married Wealthy C. Hotchkiss, July, 1847.

Jason Brown, born January 19, 1823, at Hudson, Ohio; died December 24, 1912; married Ellen Sherbondy, July, 1847.

Owen Brown, born November 4, 1824, at Hudson (never married).

Frederick Brown (1), born January 9, 1827, at Richmond, Pa.; died March 31, 1831.

Ruth Brown, born February 18, 1829, at Richmond, Pa.; married Henry Thompson, September 26, 1850.

Frederick Brown (2), born December 31, 1830, at Richmond, Pa.; murdered at Osawatomie by Rev. Martin White, August 30, 1856.

An infant son, born August 7, 1832; was buried with his mother three days after his birth, at Richmond, Pa.

John Brown married Mary Anne Day, July 11, 1833. She died February 29, 1884. The children of this union were born, married and died as follows:

Sarah Brown, born May 11, 1834, at Richmond, Pa.; died September 23, 1843.

Watson Brown, born October 7, 1835, at Franklin, Ohio; married Isabella M. Thompson, September, 1856; killed at Harper's Ferry, October 17, 1859.

Salmon Brown, born October 2, 1836, at Hudson, Ohio; married Abbie C. Hinckley, October 15, 1857.

Charles Brown, born November 3, 1837, at Hudson, Ohio; died September 11, 1843.

Oliver Brown, born March 9, 1839, at Franklin, Ohio; married Martha E. Brewster, April 7, 1858; killed at Harper's Ferry, October 17, 1859.

Peter Brown, born December 7, 1840, at Hudson, Ohio; died September 22, 1843.

Austin Brown, born September 14, 1842, at Richfield, Ohio; died September 27, 1843.

Anne Brown, born December 23, 1843, at Richfield, Ohio.

Amelia Brown, born June 22, 1845; at Akron, Ohio; died October 30, 1846.

Sarah Brown, born September 11, 1846, at Akron, Ohio.

Ellen Brown, born May 20, 1848, at Springfield, Mass.; died April 30, 1849.

Infant son, born April 26, 1852, at Akron, Ohio; died May 17, 1852.

Ellen Brown, born September 25, 1854, at Akron, Ohio.

In 1825 John Brown moved from Hudson to Randolph (now Richmond), Pennsylvania. Here he established a tannery and pursued his calling, at the same time serving as postmaster of the village. In his ample log dwelling house a room was set aside for the local subscription school. Here he remained ten years, modestly prosperous in business and comparatively happy in the midst of his large and increasing family. Here his first wife died and about a year later he was married again. While in Pennsylvania his antagonism to slavery continued and the liberation of the bondmen through the agency of education became with him a favorite theme of speculation. His life at Richmond is reviewed in interesting and satisfactory details by Sanborn and Villard. The latter quotes from the recorded recollections of James Foreman who worked in the tannery of Brown. This record reveals Brown's devotion to his family, his sterling Puritanism and his zeal for universal liberty. While in Pennsylvania on January 11, 1832, he organized an Independent Congregational Society, "its articles of faith being written out in his hand as clerk of the Society." Here he maintained a station on

the Underground Railroad and aided negroes on their way to Canada and freedom.

From Randolph, Pennsylvania, in 1834 he wrote a letter to his brother in which he bore testimony to his interest in the liberation of the slaves. At this time it will be seen that he favored universal emancipation but there is no intimation that he had concluded that it was to be brought about by force of arms. We quote from his letter as follows:

"Since you left here I have been trying to devise some means whereby I might do something in a practical way for my poor fellow-men who are in bondage, and having fully consulted the feelings of my wife and my three boys, we have agreed to get at least one negro boy or youth, and bring him up as we do our own, — viz., give him a good English education, learn him what we can about the history of the world, about business, about general subjects, and, above all, try to teach him the fear of God. We think of three ways to obtain one: First, to try to get some Christian slave-holder to release one to us. Second, to get a free one if no one will let us have one that is a slave. Third, if that does not succeed, we have all agreed to submit to considerable privation in order to buy one. This we are now using means in order to effect, in the confident expectation that God is about to bring them all out of the house of bondage.

"I will just mention that when this subject was first introduced, Jason had gone to bed; but no sooner did he hear the thing hinted, than his warm heart kindled, and he turned out to have a part in the discussion of a subject of such exceeding interest. I have for years been trying to devise some way to get a school a-going here for blacks, and I think that on many accounts it would be a most favorable location. Children here would have no intercourse with vicious people of their own kind, nor with openly vicious persons of any kind. There would be no powerful opposition influence against such a thing; and should there be any, I believe the settlement might be so effected in future as to have almost the whole influence of the place in favor of such a school. Write me how you would like to join me, and try to get on from Hudson and thereabouts some first-rate abolitionist families with you. I do honestly believe that our united exertions alone might soon, with the good hand of our God upon us, effect it all.

"This has been with me a favorite theme of reflection for years. I think that a place which might be in some measure settled with a view to such an object would be much more favorable to such an undertaking than would any such place as Hudson, with all its conflicting interests and feelings; and I do think such advantages ought to be afforded the young blacks, whether they are all to be immediately set free or not. Perhaps we might, under God, in that way do more towards breaking their yoke effectually than in any other."

In 1835 he returned to Ohio to enter the tanning business with Zenas Kent at Franklin Mills (now the village of Kent) Portage County, Ohio. Scarcely had he finished the tannery at that place when the firm disposed of the property to Marvin Kent, the son of Zenas. John Brown then took the contract for the construction of that portion of the Ohio and Pennsylvania canal between Franklin Mills and Akron. Believing that a large city was destined to spring up at Franklin Mills on the completion of the canal, he entered into extensive land speculations, making purchases entirely on his credit with practically no capital. Unfortunately shrewder business men were planning that the city should spring up at Akron rather than Franklin Mills and the diversion of the waters of Cuyahoga River to that site doomed the investments of Brown to a disastrous failure. The building in which he lived at Franklin Mills is still standing. A farm that he purchased in partnership with a Mr. Thompson was laid out in lots and platted by Brown. A few years ago the original plat in the handwriting of Brown was in the possession of the Kent family. The hard times of 1837 hastened the financial disaster which was assured when the water of the river was largely diverted to the rising town of Akron. The failure of Brown involved to some

extent his father who had advanced money in aid of the project along with other creditors. As a result he was ultimately forced to bankruptcy. This led some who lost money through him to raise questions as to his honesty. Heman Oviatt of Richfield, Ohio, however, who lost money and became involved in law suits as a result of Brown's failure, bore willing testimony to his integrity as did other of his creditors.

After his failure in business at Franklin Mills and other failures later in life, he made a statement to his son John in which he clearly set forth the fact that his great mistake was due to his attempt to speculate on credit. His son quotes him as follows:

"Instead of being thoroughly imbued with the doctrine of pay as you go, I started out in life with the idea that nothing could be done without capital, and that a poor man must use his credit and borrow; and this pernicious notion has been the rock on which I, as well as many others, have split. The practical effect of this false doctrine has been to keep me like a toad under a harrow most of my business life. Running into debt includes so much evil that I hope all my children will shun it as they would a pestilence."

The purchase of four farms on credit is declared "to have been a chief cause of Brown's collapse." If the city had been built at Franklin Mills instead of Akron, however, John Brown's financial career might have been very different. It is true nevertheless that a fatality seems to have followed practically all of his business ventures and the fundamental cause he seems at last to have fully realized as stated above.

His failure at Franklin Mills was followed by frequent shiftings from place to place and experiments in new ventures. He first returned to Hudson in 1837; went back to Franklin Mills later and again to Hudson.

In 1838 he traveled about the country making a trip to New York and Connecticut. For a time he was interested in the breeding of race horses; he drove cattle to Connecticut; he arranged to act as agent of a New York firm in the selling of steel scythes; he purchased Saxony sheep at West Hartford, Connecticut, on the 18th of January, 1838; subsequently made other purchases, shipped the sheep to Albany and thence drove them overland to Ohio. In June, 1839, his interest shifted to cattle; on the 15th of June, 1839, he received from the New England Woolen Company at Rockville, Connecticut, the sum of \$2800 for the purchase of wool. This money he appears to have used to relieve financial distress. He sincerely regretted his inability to meet his obligations as evidenced in letters written at the time and in others written when he was in prison in Charlestown in 1859.

In 1840 he and his father arranged to invest in Virginia (now West Virginia) lands. These belonged to Oberlin College and were located partly in the present counties of Doddridge and Tyler, West Virginia. John Brown on April first of that year entered into an agreement with the Trustees of Oberlin College to purchase some of these lands. He was to make a survey of the same, report to the Board of Trustees and receive one dollar a day and necessary expenses for his work. At this time he contemplated not only making a purchase of a portion of the lands but also moving his family to them. His surveys and reports were made in accordance with the agreement and he proposed to purchase 1,000 acres. Negotiations were delayed, however, and the Trustees seem to have concluded the agreement at an end. In a letter written from Hudson, February

5, 1841, John Brown seemed to regret that he could not go to Virginia as he had planned, but credited the circumstances that prevented his going, as usual, to the intervention of Providence.

In 1841 he turned his attention wholly to the raising of sheep, taking charge "of the flocks of Captain Oviatt at Richfield, Ohio." In this occupation he was successful for a time and developed great skill as a shepherd and judge of wool. While in Richfield four of his children died and three of them were buried at one time. In 1842 he received his discharge from bankruptcy resulting from the speculations at Franklin Mills, but practically all of his possessions were taken from him. He was permitted to keep "a few articles which the court had decided September 28, 1842, were absolutely necessary to the maintenance of the family, — among them eleven bibles and testaments, one volume entitled *Beauties of the Bible*, one *Church Members' Guide*, besides two mares, two cows, two hogs, three lambs, nineteen hens, seven sheep and * * * three pocket knives valued at $.37\frac{1}{2}$."

He succeeded so well in raising sheep and cattle that he became well known in Summit County. On April 10, 1844, he moved from Richfield to Akron where he established a tannery which was prosperous from the beginning. His disposition, however, to be dissatisfied with a modest degree of prosperity at his regular trade led him to form a co-partnership with Simon Perkins, Jr., a successful business man of Akron. The firm of Perkins and Brown continued for a period of ten years. The family resided in a cottage on what is known as Perkins Hill. A portion of the building is still standing.

Many writers have detailed at length the home life of John Brown. His disposition to seek new fields and experiment with new enterprises took him frequently from his home but he was at all times deeply interested in his family as his letters and the uniform testimony of his neighbors clearly show. He was a strict disciplinarian and required unquestioning obedience from his numerous children. He at first used the rod somewhat freely but according to the testimony of his sons always justly, never in wrath. He had a habit of frequently inflicting punishment upon himself at the same time, on the ground that the child's offense had probably been due in a measure to his own neglect of duty as a father. After punishing the boy he would bare his own shoulders and require the boy to use the lash on him. With the residence at Akron came better educational advantages for his children, especially John Brown, Jr., and his sister Ruth.

John Brown's financial failures and lack of judgment in business matters brought him frequently into the courts of Portage and Summit Counties, a detailed account of which is set forth by Villard (pages 36-41).

In 1846 Brown had ventured upon the enterprise of wool merchant in Springfield, Massachusetts, for the firm of Perkins and Brown. Hither he moved his family. Here he met Frederick Douglass who has given an interesting picture of Brown and his family as he saw them there. The object of the venture of Perkins and Brown at Springfield was the establishment of an office to classify wools for wool growers in order that they might be able to command a fair price for their product. The purpose was somewhat akin to the co-operative market projects of the present day. Brown

and Perkins probably hoped to do for the infant wool industry of this country what associations have accomplished so successfully for the fruit growers of California and other states. The letter-book covering many pages, the greater portion of it in the handwriting of John Brown, and the remainder written by his son John Brown, Jr., who had a good education, is now in the museum of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society and gives a very satisfactory insight of the work of the representatives of this firm through many busy months. An export trade to England was inaugurated and for a time the prospect was very bright for the building up of a flourishing business. It appears that the firm received by consignment large quantities of wool which they sometimes had difficulty in marketing. To one of their patrons who complained of the delay in remitting for his wool John Brown sent the following explanation which is here reproduced because of its Ohio connection:

"We have at last found out that some of the principal manufacturers are leagued together to break us down, as we have offered them wool at their own price & they refuse to buy. . . . We hope every wool-grower in the country will be at Steubenville (Ohio) 2d Wednesday of Feb'y next, to hear statements about the wool trade of a most interesting character. There is no difficulty in the matter as we shall be abundantly able to show, if the farmers will only be true to themselves. . . . Matters of more importance to farmers will then be laid open, than what kind of Tariff we are to have. No sacrifice kneed be made, the only thing wanted is to get the broad shouldered, & hard handed farmers to understand how they have been imposed upon, & the whole matter will be cured effectually." *

This proposed meeting was held and Brown appeared according to agreement and made an address that satis-

* Copied literally.

fied the Ohio wool growers. The manufacturers in the East, however, continued to make trouble for him and he found it difficult to dispose of the wool. He conceived the idea that by making a trip to Europe he could find market for his product. Accordingly he sailed August 15, 1849, in the steamer *Cambria* and arrived in London on the 27th of that month. He failed, however, to find sale for the wool in either London or Paris. He had shipped wool to London and was forced to accept a much lower price than he could have gotten in America. This meant disaster for his venture as a wool merchant. While abroad he visited not only London and Paris but Calais, Hamburg and Brussels. From the last named city he made a side trip to the battle field of Waterloo. Evidence is not lacking that even at this time battle fields had an attraction for him and he was interested in the plans of the great combats of history. The final winding up of the wool business extended over a number of years and led to much litigation. It appears, however, that in spite of the losses sustained Colonel Perkins continued to entertain a friendly feeling for Brown. In a letter to Oswald Garrison Villard of December 26, 1908, Mr. George T. Perkins of Akron wrote:

"My father, Simon Perkins, was associated with Mr. Brown in business for a number of years, and always regarded him as thoroughly honest and honorable in all his relations with him. Mr. Brown was, however, so thoroughly impractical in his business management as he was in almost everything else, that the business was not a success and was discontinued. Their relations were afterwards friendly."

The senior member of the firm did not sympathize with Brown's extreme anti-slavery views. In 1878

Colonel Perkins said to Mr. F. E. Sanborn, "Do you mean to connect me with that Virginia affair? I consider him and the men that helped him in that the biggest set of fools in the world."

Many interesting stories have been recorded of his residence in Springfield, among others, the account of his experience with LaRoy Sunderland, a famous hypnotist, in 1848 or 1849. Brown was very skeptical in regard to the claims of Sunderland and insisted upon putting them to the test. While in Springfield he was identified with Zion Methodist Church, made up largely of those who had withdrawn from other congregations because of their pronounced anti-slavery views. He became deeply interested in the plan of Gerrit Smith, the famous anti-slavery leader, who had offered to give 120,000 acres of land in northern New York to worthy colored people. Early in 1848 Brown decided to move his family and establish his home among the negro colonists. He visited Smith on April 8, 1848, and entered into an agreement to move his family to North Elba and aid in directing the negroes, who settled on the land offered by Smith, in clearing away the forest and establishing homes of their own. He moved to North Elba in the spring of 1849. Here he engaged again in stock raising. The original white settlers in the North Elba region were not pleased by the coming of the blacks and the success of the experiment of Brown and Smith was not especially encouraging.

That the experiment of establishing a colony of free blacks in the rugged and somewhat inhospitable climate of northern New York should prove a disappointing and visionary enterprise was not surprising. No wonder that Brown in actual experience with the colored freed-

men became a little impatient at times and realized the importance of teaching these people lessons of thrift and industry. To meet the needs of the situation he wrote in 1848 or 1849 for the *Ram's Horn*, an abolition paper, a contribution entitled "Sambo's Mistakes." It purports to be from the pen of a colored man by the name of Sambo and is divided into three chapters. A sample of this contribution to which reference is often made is here given:

"Another error into which I fell in early life was the notion that chewing and smoking tobacco would make a man of me but little inferior to some of the whites. The money I spent in this way would with the interest of it have enabled me to have relieved a great many sufferers, supplied me with a well selected interesting library and paid for a good farm for the support and comfort of my old age; whereas I have now neither books, clothing, the satisfaction of having benefited others nor where to lay my hoary head. But I can see in a moment where I missed it."

In the year 1851 he organized in the city of Springfield a branch of the "United States League of Gileadites." This was an organization of colored people for the purpose of defending themselves and advancing their interests. The principles of the League were embraced in the "Words of Advice" written by Brown. They counseled self defense and resistance of arrest by force of arms. "Let the first blow be the signal for all to engage," so runs the advice, "and when engaged do not do your work by halves; but make clean work with your enemies and be sure you meddle not with any others. Your enemies will be slow to attack you if you have done up the work nicely."

It will be remembered that a little earlier the Compromise of 1850 was enacted, including the famous Fugitive Slave Law. It is needless to say that Brown, like

other abolitionists, was very hostile to this law and that he began about this time to meditate an armed attack upon the institution of slavery. Late in the year 1854 or early in 1855 he is reported to have had in mind an attack on Harper's Ferry: "First, to frighten Virginia and detach it from the slave interest; second, to capture the rifles to arm the slaves; and third, to destroy the arsenal machinery so that it could not be used to turn out more arms for the perhaps long guerrilla war that might follow." In the meantime Brown continued in the partnership of Perkins and Brown. In 1851 he moved his family again to Akron where he took up once more sheep raising and pursued it with success to his satisfaction and that of his partner, Mr. Perkins.

After the removal of his family to North Elba, New York, in 1854, and his withdrawal from the firm of Perkins and Brown, he found himself comparatively free to venture upon some new enterprise. His sons had grown up; some of them remained in Ohio; he could leave his family in New York with his son Watson who was then a young man and choose his field of action. About this time five of his sons decided to leave Ohio and seek a new home in Kansas, then the western frontier of American civilization. The impelling motive is set forth pretty clearly in the statement of one of the sons. In the years 1853 and 1854 many Ohio newspapers contained glowing accounts of the extraordinary climate, healthfulness and fertility of the Territory of Kansas. The efforts of northern men to make this a free state also had its appeal for the Browns. In the month of October, 1854, three of the sons of John Brown, — Owen, Frederick and Salmon, left their homes in Ohio and started on the western journey. They took with

them eleven head of cattle, three horses, two small tents, a plow and other farm tools. They proceeded by way of the lakes to Chicago and thence to Meridosa, Illinois, where they remained for the winter. Early the next spring they proceeded with their cattle and horses to Kansas and settled about eight miles from Osawatomie. As soon as the rivers were navigable, John, Jr. and Jason proceeded by way of the Ohio, Mississippi and Missouri rivers to join the three brothers who had preceded them. At St. Louis when they took passage on a steamboat up the Missouri they found themselves in company with a large number of men, mostly from the South on their way to help make Kansas a slave state. It is needless to say that the Brown boys found little sympathy with their fellow passengers whose "drinking, profanity and display of revolvers and bowie-knives, — openly worn as an essential part of their make-up — clearly showed the class to which they belonged."

"A box of fruit trees and grape vines," said John Brown, Jr., "which my brother Jason had brought from Ohio, our plow and the few agricultural implements we had on the deck of that steamer looked lonesome; for these were all we could see which were adapted to the occupations of peace."

Jason Brown's little son, aged four years, fell a victim to the scourge of cholera on this trip and was buried at night near Waverly, Missouri, where the boat had stopped for repair. As the two brothers took him to his last resting place, their way "illumined only by lightning and a furious thunder storm, the captain of the steamer without warning embarked again on the river leaving them as best they could to find their way to Kansas City." The unpleasant journey, however, was at last completed

and the brothers arrived in Kansas, whose "lovely prairies and wooded streams seemed * * * indeed like a haven of rest." The five brothers were finally reunited and entered with enthusiasm upon the building of new homes on these fertile prairies of the West.

There were, however, drawbacks to this seeming paradise. Settlements were made usually along the flowing streams, the lurking places of malaria, and the new settlers were soon shaking with the ague. Controversies sprang up among them on the question of slavery and divided them into hostile camps.

On October 1, 1855, occurred the Pro-Slavery election for territorial delegate to Congress. At this election 2721 votes out of 2738 were cast for General J. W. Whitfield, the Pro-Slavery candidate. The Free State electors did not go to the polls. Eight days later they had their election in which they cast 2849 votes for their candidate, former Governor Reeder. The Pro-Slavery governor of Kansas, Wilson Shannon, recognized the election of Whitfield and the United States House of Representatives gave him his seat in that body February 4, 1856. Upon the report of an investigating committee, however, he was afterwards unanimously ousted, but Reeder was not given the place.

It was not John Brown's intention originally to go to Kansas. This is clearly indicated in a letter that he wrote to his son John August 21, 1854. In this he said:

"If you or any of my family are disposed to go to Kansas or Nebraska, with a view to help defeat *Satan* and his legions in that direction, I have not a word to say; *but I feel committed to operate in another part of the field.* If I were not so committed, I would be on my way this fall."

In May of the following year, however, he received a letter from this same son describing terrible conditions that had developed in Kansas as a result of the effort to make it a slave state. The appeal in this letter was so strong that Brown decided he would join his sons and lend every possible aid to those who were struggling to make Kansas free. He began at once to plan for collecting arms, ammunition and other supplies that might be helpful in his latest enterprise. Money was raised for this purpose in the anti-slavery convention at Syracuse on the 28th of June and later in Akron, Ohio, where his appeal met a generous response. On August 15, 1855, he reported his success in obtaining "guns, revolvers, swords, powder, caps and money." He proceeded by way of Cleveland, Detroit and Chicago and after a number of interesting experiences in his overland journey, reached the family settlement near Osawatomie October 7, 1855.

Life in Kansas wrought a pronounced change in John Brown. This western border offered the opportunity for the warfare that he desired to wage against slavery. "The staid, somber merchant and patriarchal family head was ready to become Captain John Brown of Osawatomie, at the mention of whom Border Ruffians and swashbuckling adherents of slavery trembled and often fled."*

While he was pleased with Kansas, he did not go there to make it his permanent home. He went to fight slavery, to aid his sons and others of their faith to make Kansas a free state. The contest had begun long before he went west. Letters from his sons and newspaper accounts carried to him information of Border Ruffian

* Villard, p. 77.

invasions and outrages months before he decided to answer the call to this new field of action.

The Free State men of the Territory had called a convention which met at Topeka, October 23, 1855, framed a constitution that prohibited slavery and submitted it for popular approval. It provided for the election of state officers and members of the legislature and fixed the place and date of the meeting of that body at Topeka, March 4, 1856.

The Free State men had been outvoted a number of times by invaders from Missouri and the South with whom the election officers and the national administration were in sympathy. They were thus forced to hold elections of their own as a safeguard against fraud. This finally resulted in dual legislatures, dual constitutions, dual officers and dual laws — an ideal condition for the strife and bloodshed that attracted the attention of the whole country.

The opposition of the Pierce administration to the free state movement, the excesses of the Pro-Slavery party at Leavenworth, the threats of raiders from Missouri and the invasion of a large armed force from that state for the avowed purpose of destroying Lawrence aroused the Free State men to armed resistance and "minute men" were hastily organized and hurried to the defense of that town. Among these was a company known as the "Liberty Guards," commanded by John Brown with the rank of captain, a title that followed him for the remainder of his life. His company belonged to the Fifth Regiment of Kansas Volunteers, under the command of Colonel George Smith, in the army of General James H. Lane, "called into the service of the people of Kansas to defend the city of Lawrence

* * * from threatened demolition by foreign invaders."

This army at once threw up defenses about the threatened town. In this work Captain Brown became conspicuous for his energy and resourcefulness. "His presence," said an eye witness, "lightened up the gloom of the besieged in their darkest hour."

In the operations about Lawrence one Free State man, Thomas W. Barber of Ohio, was killed. His body, which was brought to a building occupied by Brown's company, was viewed by the wife and friends of the murdered man. Of this sad affair Brown wrote:

"I will only say of this scene that it was heart-rending and calculated to exasperate the men exceedingly; and one of the sure results of civil war."

The pitched battle that seemed imminent did not occur. Governor Wilson Shannon effected a compromise between the contending parties by the terms of which the invaders were to leave Kansas Territory. The Free State men were encouraged to believe that in armed resistance they had an effective defense. Brown wrote hopefully: "Free State men have only hereafter to retain the footing they have gained, *and Kansas is free.*" This defense, which is known as the "Wakarusa War," ended with the signing of the terms of compromise, December 8, 1855.

The truce, however, was of short duration. John Brown, Jr., who had been active in the preliminary meetings that resulted in the "Topeka movement" to make Kansas a free state, was elected a member of the legislature. The radical anti-slavery views of the Browns, which had perhaps been intensified by the coming of the

father, made them increasingly obnoxious to the Pro-Slavery party.

The Topeka Legislature met March 4, 1856, and was continuously in session until March 15, when it recessed to July 4 of that year. On that national anniversary it was dissolved by military authority of the United States government. John Brown, Jr., was an active and fearless member and was one of the fifteen legislators who signed the memorial to Congress asking for the admission of Kansas as a free state under the Topeka constitution. For his political activity he was afterwards made to suffer an awful penalty.

In May Kansas was again invaded. Lawrence surrendered to the Border Ruffians and on the morning of the 21st of that month was sacked and burned. The Free State Hotel, a substantial structure of stone, was battered down by cannon shots and fierce flames swept the ruins.

Three days later, on the night of May 24, occurred the Pottawatomie affair in which five Pro-Slavery men were slain by a detachment of John Brown's men returning from their unsuccessful expedition to save the doomed town of Lawrence. One of the participants in this raid declares that it was Brown's purpose by this stern act to strike terror to the hearts of the invaders — that he insisted it was better "that a score of bad men should die than that one man who came here to make Kansas free should be driven out."

The killings on the Pottawatomie startled the inhabitants of Kansas and aroused the Pro-Slavery party to retaliatory activity. Captain Pate, of Missouri, hastened with a company of volunteers on a mission of vengeance. He assisted in the capture of John Brown, Jr.,

and his brother Jason. Neither of these men had participated in the Pottawatomie affair, but the former was driven chained in front of horsemen over the burning Kansas plains and subjected to such harsh treatment that he became insane. In this condition he was thrown into prison. The homes of the two brothers were burned by the invaders.

In the meantime, Captain Pate had turned his attention to John Brown and his party, expecting soon to capture them. Brown heard of this and prepared to meet the Missourians. The two parties met June 2 at Black Jack, where the first pitched battle was fought between Pro-Slavery and Anti-Slavery forces. At its conclusion, Pate and all of his men surrendered unconditionally to John Brown. The Missourians were astounded when they heard that their company which had gone to avenge those who fell on the Pottawatomie, had themselves fallen into the hands of Brown, whose name had now become a terror to Pro-Slavery men on the border. The battle of Black Jack was the most complete victory scored by Brown in Kansas, though it is not so famous as his defense of Lawrence and Osawatimie. It remains for some literary genius to describe it as the first battle of the Civil War, for here the North and the South met to settle the issue of slavery in open combat by force of arms.

Shortly afterward John Brown gave up his prisoners and captured arms to Colonel Edwin V. Sumner, in command of the United States troops in this district and afterward a noted Union general in the Civil War.

The Topeka Legislature had adjourned to meet July 4, 1856. John Brown and his men were encamped near that city to be at hand if the threatened clash of arms

should attend the opening of the session. Seventeen members answered to the roll call. John Brown, Jr., could not be present as he was at that time in prison. Other members were in the city, but before they could assemble Colonel Sumner appeared with government troops and ordered the Legislature to disperse, declaring, "This is the most disagreeable duty of my whole life."

Later Brown and his men left Kansas, but he and his son Frederick soon returned. Free State men from the northern states began to pour into the Territory by way of Nebraska. This immigration was encouraged and financially assisted by various organizations in the East and powerfully stimulated by the eloquence of James H. Lane, whose appeal to northern audiences turned many liberty loving, adventurous spirits toward the Territory that was struggling to become a free state.

In the presidential campaign of 1856 the admission of Kansas was made a political issue. The Republican party in its first national convention, June 17, 1856, adopted a resolution declaring that "Kansas should be immediately admitted as a state with her present free constitution." In the House of Representatives at Washington Galusha M. Grow, of Pennsylvania, presented a bill for the admission of Kansas as a free state under the Topeka constitution, and it passed that body by a vote of 99 to 97 on July 3, 1856. The attention of the entire country with increasing interest now turned to Kansas. The crystallization of public sentiment and the tide of immigration to the Territory was rapidly giving the Free State forces the ascendancy.

Disregarding his son's protest that his father should not come to Lawrence for fear of arrest, John Brown

accompanied by Lane arrived in that city. The Free State forces now prepared for aggressive war against their foes. As the Border Ruffians pushed the fighting in the earlier struggles of "Bleeding Kansas," their adversaries now rallied to the attack. Their policy, which earlier was purely and at times feebly defensive, had changed and their object now seemed to be to drive the Pro-Slavery element out of the Territory. The southern colonists of southeastern Kansas trembled with dread at the news of the approach of John Brown. Their startled imagination placed him at the head of every movement of the Free State forces and every rumored raid in the Territory. The correspondent of the *New York Times* referred to him as "the old terrifier" and "the terror of all Missouri."

For a time the Free State bands swept southward, driving the Pro-Slavery men before them. Franklin, "Fort" Saunders and "Fort" Titus successively fell into their hands with arms and ammunition. In the attack on "Fort" Titus the Free State men brought into requisition a cannon that they had previously captured and fired into the doomed fort shots moulded from the type of one of their newspaper offices. They gleefully shouted that they were delivering to Colonel Titus "a second edition of the *Herald of Freedom*." It is doubtful whether John Brown participated in any of these fights, but the vanquished saw his uncanny and ghostly presence in all of them.

In the midst of this strife and confusion, after giving up a number of Free State prisoners in exchange for Pro-Slavery men held by Lane and his lieutenants, Governor Shannon resigned his office. President Pierce refused to accept the resignation but peremptorily re-

moved Shannon from office. His administration had been a stormy one and he withdrew with relief to himself and to the evident satisfaction of the contending parties who had filled the record of his brief term of office with turmoil and confusion. The governorship of Ohio has not always been a pleasing job, but Governor Shannon could certainly bear testimony that it is a position under all circumstances much to be preferred to the governorship of the Territory of Kansas in the days of "Jim" Lane, John Brown and "Dave" Atchison. Wilson Shannon, who had previously served as governor of Ohio, spent his last days peacefully as a citizen of Lawrence, Kansas, and re-established himself in the good will of many who had been his critics and foes.*

John Brown was not long inactive. He was now prepared to give the Pro-Slavery settlers some of their own medicine. With a company of thirty or forty men, which was soon increased by union with another company, he added to his equipment by contraband seizures until his force was well mounted, well armed and well supplied with food and ammunition. He was getting ready to meet another invasion from Missouri.

After capturing a number of prisoners and about one hundred and fifty cattle, John Brown entered the town of Osawatimie for the purpose of defending it against the invading army under Atchison. His arrival was now marked by a cloud of dust that enveloped his captured herd and motley troopers, giving to the column an imposing and forbidding aspect. The number of his

* Wilson Shannon was born in Belmont county, Ohio, February 24, 1802. He was Governor of Ohio 1838-40 and 1842-44. Failing to restore order in Kansas, he incurred the hostility of Pierce and Buchanan. Hence his summary dismissal. He died in Lawrence, Kansas, August 31, 1877.

men was comparatively small, not over one hundred effectives, and against them was now marching an invading army from Missouri one thousand strong, under the command of General David R. Atchison, formerly a United States Senator from that state.

Atchison assembled his army about forty miles from Osawatomie. He sent forward General John W. Reid with two hundred and fifty men and a cannon to destroy that town. On his way Reid was joined by other Pro-Slavery men, including Rev. Martin White. As they approached in the dawning twilight, White met Frederick Brown and before the latter could grasp the situation shot him through the heart. He afterward tried to excuse his sanguinary act on the ground that his home had been attacked. He said:

"The same day I shot Fred, I would have shot the last devil of the gang that was in the attack on my house, if I had known them and got a chance."

It will thus be seen that in these stirring times even the ministers of the gospel in Kansas had their blood up to the fighting temperature. John Brown coolly commented on this act as follows:

"Old preacher White, I hear, boasts of having killed my son. Of course he is a lion."

After the killing of Frederick Brown the forces under General Reid advanced to the attack on Osawatomie. Brown with about forty resolute men prepared to defend the place. One of his followers said to him, "What do you want me to do?" "Take more care to end life well than to live long," was the grim answer. The Missourians opened fire on the town and Brown's men replied with spirit. When men and horses

in the advancing column were struck with balls from the Sharpe rifles there was confusion in the advancing line. Their leader, however, with drawn sword led them to the charge. The Free State men were gradually driven out of the town but held their position along the stream. From the underbrush and rocks they poured a hot fire into the ranks of the Missourians. Reid brought his cannon into action and Brown's men were finally driven across the Marias des Cygnes which runs near the town. As soon as the Border Ruffians entered the place they commenced plundering and burning it. General Reid claimed that in this battle about thirty Free State men were killed, including "a son of old Brown and probably Brown himself." In John Brown's report of the battle he says:

"The loss of the enemy, as we learned by different statements of our own as well as other people, was some thirty-one or two killed, and from forty to fifty wounded."

He speaks of his own loss as two killed in battle; three missing, probably captured, and two wounded. On their part the Missourians claimed that they had none killed and five wounded. Just what the losses were in the engagement will perhaps never be known.

As John Brown and his son Jason stood on the bank of the stream watching the smoke and flames of burning Osawatomie against the horizon, Brown is reported by his son to have said:

"God sees it. I have only a short time to live — only one death to die, and I will die fighting for this cause. There will be no more peace in this land until slavery is done for. I will give them something else to do than to extend slave territory. I will carry the war into Africa."

The attitude of the government at Washington while war was in progress between the Pro-Slavery and Free State men of Kansas is significant. United States troops were there ostensibly to keep the peace and maintain the authority of the general government, but for the most part, due to political considerations perhaps, they were inactive. While the Pierce and Buchanan administrations were frankly favorable to the Pro-Slavery party and the agents that they sent were understood to reflect the Washington view, after experience on the soil of Kansas, some of them materially revised their conclusions on the situation and sympathized with the Free State cause. This was notably true of Governors Reeder and Geary and even the attitude of Governor Shannon was at times disappointing to the Pro-Slavery party.

Although John Brown was defeated at Osawatimie the stand that he made there added immensely to his reputation. General James H. Lane, "Jim Lane," as he was popularly called, and some of his Free State associates were holding a "council of war" in Lawrence on September 7, which was interrupted by loud cheering in the streets. The bent form of old John Brown as he rode into the town with a rifle across his saddle bow, aroused wild enthusiasm. The cheering was declared by an eye witness to have been "as great as if the President had come to town, but John Brown seemed not to hear and paid not the slightest attention."

He next proceeded to the home of Ottawa Jones, a friendly educated Indian, and found it in ruins. On September 10 he was joined by his son, John Brown, Jr., who had been imprisoned by the territorial agents of the Pierce administration without even the form of

an indictment. He was finally released on bail, but was never afterward brought to trial. While in prison he had regained his reason, but he never fully recovered from the effects of the brutal treatment to which he was subjected immediately following his capture. He hurried at once to Lawrence where an enthusiastic meeting of Free State men was in progress. He brought with him the chains with which he had been bound and which had been worn bright during his long imprisonment.*

About this time the new territorial governor, John W. Geary, appointed by Buchanan, arrived and made a sincere effort to end the civil war that had been raging in Kansas. He was supposed to have come with Pro-Slavery inclinations, but, like some of his predecessors, he gradually swayed so far in favor of the Free State cause that he found it expedient to resign.

Governor Geary began his administration by a vigorous restoration of order in the Territory. He played no favorites. While he captured and threw into prison over one hundred Free State men, he was equally zealous in his efforts to stop invasions from Missouri. Not long after he assumed the duties of his office another army from that state, more formidable than any previously sent, came to make one more desperate effort to capture Kansas for the slave power. Under the leadership of Reid, Heiskel, Stringfellow and Whitfield, this well organized and equipped force of two thousand five hundred men moved forward with Lawrence, the Free State stronghold, as their objective. Governor Geary ordered Lieutenant Colonel Joseph E. Johnson, now a

* These chains are now in the Museum of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society.

United States army officer but later a famous Confederate general, to defend the town. This pleased the Free State men, as they began to feel that they would be protected in their constitutional rights by the new governor.

In the meantime, in the presence once more of imminent danger, the citizens of Lawrence threw up rude works and prepared for a siege. The ruined walls of the old Free State Hotel were used in building breast-works. John Brown was again there, giving directions, moving among the defenders and urging them to resist to the death the advancing host.. It was on this occasion that he mounted a dry-goods box in the main street of the town and delivered the following characteristic speech:

"GENTLEMEN—It is said there are twenty-five hundred Missourians down at Franklin, and that they will be here in two hours. You can see for yourselves the smoke they are making by setting fire to the houses in that town. This is probably the last opportunity you will have of seeing a fight, so that you had better do your best. If they should come up and attack us, don't yell and make a great noise, but remain perfectly silent and still. Wait until they get within twenty-five yards of you, get a good object, be sure you see the hind sight of your gun, then fire. A great deal of powder and lead and very precious time is wasted by shooting too high. You had better aim at their legs than at their heads. In either case, be sure of the hind sight of your gun. It is for this reason that I myself have so many times escaped, for, if all the bullets which have ever been aimed at me had hit me I would have been as full of holes as a riddle."

The invaders, however, did not attack the town. Governor Geary gave the Missourians to understand that they must quit the Territory or face the United States troops. They reluctantly concluded to retire. This ended the invasions by the Border Ruffians. As they withdrew they realized, as the whole country was

coming to realize, that the effort to make Kansas a slave state had ended in failure. The tide of immigration was steadily adding strength to the Free State party and its ultimate complete triumph could not long be delayed.

With the restoration of peace and the liberation of his son, John Brown decided to leave Kansas. He no longer had any incentive to stay. One of his sons had lost his life. Another had been severely wounded. Another had been driven into temporary insanity and imprisoned. Their homes had been burned. There was little to hold them in Kansas. John Brown, though he kept his own counsel, was thinking of operations in another field — he was planning “to carry the war into Africa.” If the freedom of Kansas was assured, as he was still disposed to doubt, that would be very good so far as it went, but he was dreaming of nothing less than liberating the bondmen in all slave states of the Union. He would still keep a very watchful eye on Kansas, and if occasion seemed to demand it, would again appear in the Territory where his name was known to every inhabitant and was still an asset to the militant element of the Free State party.

On October 10, 1856, he and his four sons had reached Tabor, Iowa, a frontier town settled chiefly by immigrants from Oberlin, Ohio. Here he found the people kindly disposed and sympathetic with his views. The anti-slavery sentiment was strong and they had followed with absorbing interest the news from Kansas. Here Brown and his men rested for a time, but he could not long remain inactive. Later in the month he went to Chicago with his sons Jason and John. Here he met Horace White, afterward editor of the *Chicago Tribune*

and the New York *Evening Post* and now Assistant Secretary of the National Kansas Committee. Brown at the request of friends in the East assisted in forwarding arms to Tabor to be used in Kansas if occasion should require. Two hundred rifles in this shipment afterward went for use to Harper's Ferry.

From Chicago Brown proceeded to Ohio. It was probably on the occasion of this visit to the state that his half-sister, Mrs. S. C. Davis of Grafton, Ohio, said to him:

"John, isn't it dreadful that Fremont should have been defeated and such a man as Buchanan put into office?"

"Well, truly," answered Brown, "as I look at it now, I see that it was the right thing. If Fremont had been elected, the people would have settled down and made no further effort. Now they know they must work if they want to save a free state."

He proceeded east, meeting Gerrit Smith, Frank B. Sanborn, Dr. Samuel G. Howe, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, Theodore Parker, George L. Stearns, Wendell Phillips, Henry D. Thoreau, Ralph Waldo Emerson and other prominent anti-slavery men. These all became his stanch friends and enthusiastic supporters. Among the recommendations that Brown carried with him was one from Governor Salmon P. Chase of Ohio.*

On the 18th of February he appeared before the Joint Committee on Federal Relations of the Massachusetts Legislature and delivered an address recounting his experiences in Kansas. On this occasion he held up before the committee the chains by which his son John had been bound. His stirring appeal brought applause but no financial support.

*Governor Chase's recommendation bore date of December 20, 1856. He gave Brown \$25 at that time.

After visiting many persons in the East in an effort to raise money for his anti-slavery warfare, he came to Cleveland May 22, to Akron the day following and spent several days in his old home town of Hudson. On June 24 he attended the semi-centennial of the founding of Talmadge, Ohio. A message was here handed to the chairman of the meeting, stating that John Brown was present and "would like to speak about Kansas." This privilege the chairman refused on the ground that it would be "entirely inconsistent with the occasion." By August 7 he had returned to Tabor, Iowa.

In the meantime, Kansas, under the administration of Governor Geary, had been peaceful. His even-handed justice, however, did not suit President Buchanan or the South. They wished to have more favor shown their friends within the Territory. The governor received so little assistance from Washington that he felt constrained to resign in March. He was succeeded by Robert J. Walker of Mississippi, former United States Senator from that state and Secretary of the Treasury. The South felt that now they had one of their own men in office and could have matters in Kansas administered to their liking. In this they were disappointed.

Governor Walker began by promising both parties absolutely fair treatment and a fair election. They accepted this assurance and went to the polls together. The Free State party won a big victory, electing their delegate to Congress by a majority of 4089 and choosing thirty-three members of the Legislature to nineteen for the Pro-Slavery party. The result was anything but pleasing to the Washington administration.

As soon as it became apparent that Walker was pursuing a policy similar to that of Geary, he incurred the hostility of the Pro-Slavery party. Buchanan, who had appointed him six months before, accepted his resignation. It is significant that Governors Reeder, Geary and Walker, all Democrats and appointed as men of Pro-Slavery views, when on the ground where they could judge the situation from first hand knowledge, so far swayed to the favor of the Free State party that they were given to understand that their resignations would be acceptable.

Brown returned to Kansas in 1857 and recruited a few men for the warfare against slavery. On November 17, he started with his men for Tabor and from this village he soon set out for Springdale, Iowa, a Quaker community thoroughly in sympathy with his anti-slavery views, but opposed to warfare and the use of "carnal weapons" to liberate the bondmen. The trip overland was performed through the storms and drifting snows of winter. The little band included Luke F. Parsons, Richard Raelf, John E. Cook, William H. Leeman, Charles P. Tidd, and John Henri Kagi. To these followers he declared, "God has created me to be the deliverer of slaves as Moses delivered the children of Israel."

"They found nothing in this statement," declares Villard, "to make them doubt his sanity, or that seemed inherently impossible. A fanatic they recognized him to be; but fanatics have at all times drawn satellites to them, even when the alliance meant certain death."

On the dreary journey they trudged over the snow, from December 4, arriving in Springdale shortly after Christmas. They whiled away the evenings in debating

various questions and singing, in which John Brown heartily joined. "The Slave has seen the Northern Star" and "From Greenland's Icy Mountains" were among his favorites.

Their journey at last ended, they found a very hospitable reception in Springdale. Located here in comparative comfort, they spent the remainder of the long winter very pleasantly. They kept up and conducted with decorum their debates. A mock legislature was organized,* bills were introduced, discussed and enacted into laws. Cook, Kagi and Raelf were men of much more than ordinary ability and developed into speakers of power and eloquence. At Springdale Brown added two Quaker youths, of Ohio birth, to his company — Edwin and Barclay Coppoc.

Leaving his men in Springdale, John Brown proceeded to the East, stopping to visit his son John at Lindenville, Ohio. It was on this trip, at the home of Gerrit Smith in Peterboro, New York, that Brown divulged his remarkable plan for a constitution to govern the territory captured from the slave power. Chimerical as this seemed, his friends in the East, after full explanations from him, approved the general plan. As Brown had by-laws for the government of his men in Kansas, he felt that he must have an ambitious constitution for the larger project that was now absorbing his thought. After visiting Canada he returned to Springdale and with his men went to Chatham, Canada, where a convention of colored freedmen and his followers from Springdale united to form the constitution. The details of the proceedings and the full text of this doc-

* In the school house.

ument are elsewhere available to interested readers. The preamble only is here reproduced:

"Whereas, Slavery, throughout its entire existence in the United States is none other than a most barbarous, unprovoked, and unjustifiable War of one portion of its citizens upon another portion; the only conditions of which are perpetual imprisonment, and hopeless servitude or absolute extermination; in utter disregard and violation of those eternal and self-evident truths set forth in our Declaration of Independence:

Therefore, we CITIZENS of the UNITED STATES, and the OPPRESSED PEOPLE, who, by a RECENT DECISION of the SUPREME COURT ARE DECLARED to have NO RIGHTS WHICH the WHITE MAN is BOUND to RESPECT; TOGETHER WITH ALL OTHER PEOPLE DEGRADED by the LAWS THEREOF, DO, for the TIME BEING ORDAIN and ESTABLISH for OURSELVES the FOLLOWING PROVISIONAL CONSTITUTION and ORDINANCES, the BETTER to PROTECT our PERSONS, PROPERTY, LIVES, and LIBERTIES: and to GOVERN our ACTIONS."

Whatever may be the opinion of this constitution as a whole, it must be admitted that the preamble sets forth pretty clearly Brown's view of slavery and the Dred Scott decision. The former he considered "most barbarous, unprovoked and unjustifiable war." The latter stripped one portion of our population of all rights and reduced them to a condition of "perpetual imprisonment and hopeless servitude." Against both he and his followers took up the gage of battle.

John Brown was fast maturing plans for "carrying the war into Africa," for making a descent upon the institution of slavery in Virginia. These plans, however, for a time were frustrated by Hugh Forbes, a soldier of fortune who had served under Garibaldi, the liberator of Italy, and now attached himself to the payroll of Brown and his financial supporters. He at first en-

tered with enthusiasm upon the service, with dreams of becoming the Garibaldi of the colored race in America. When the term of his employment ended and no additional funds for his pay were in sight, he made all sorts of trouble for Brown. Whenever he could get an influential hearing he revealed the arrangements for the intended attack. This caused a temporary abandonment of plans and the return of Brown to Kansas for his spectacular invasion of Missouri.

In the latter part of June, 1858, John Brown re-entered Kansas. He returned in the disguise of a patriarchal beard, almost white, which he wore for the remainder of his days, and under the assumed name of Shubel Morgan. From Lawrence he proceeded to southeastern Kansas where there had been considerable excitement as the result of the brutal killing of five inoffensive Free State settlers who had been captured by the Pro-Slavery leader, Charles A. Hamilton, afterward a Confederate colonel, who "had boasted that if Pro-Slavery men could not make headway in the Territory, abolitionists should not live there."

In the vicinity of Fort Scott, Brown and his men remained for a time and kept in close touch with James Montgomery, a militant Free State leader, who afterward rose to the rank of colonel in the Union army. It was while Brown, or "Shubel Morgan," was here that he wrote to his son John in Ohio of an anti-slavery lecture that he gave a pro-slavery settler who came to his camp. It was here also that he began a sketch of his life, "as connected with Kansas; by one who knows." It was never finished.

In the latter part of this summer with some of his followers he made a short trip over the line into Mis-

souri, taking with him his surveying instruments to avoid suspicion. When they came within sight of the house of Rev. Martin White, who had killed his son Frederick, he was asked to look through a field glass at a man sitting in a distant yard under a shade tree. "I declare, that is Martin White," said Brown. At the suggestion that they go and talk to the old man he said, "No, no, I can't do that." When others proposed to go, he said, "Go if you wish, but don't you hurt a hair of his head." In speaking of White, he is reported to have said to James Hanway:

"People mistake my objects. I would not hurt one hair of his head. I would not go an inch to take his life; I do not harbor the feeling of revenge. *I act from principle.* My aim and object is to restore human rights."

In December occurred his famous "foray" into Missouri. The historian, William E. Connelley, thus summarizes it:

"On Sunday, December 19, 1858, a negro man came from Missouri to Brown's camp and begged that his wife and family be rescued from slavery before they were sold to be carried South. The following Monday night Brown, with a number of men from his company, made a foray into Missouri, and secured these slaves, eleven in number, and carried them into Kansas. They were carried to the Pottawatomie and kept in a cabin on the open prairie for more than a month, while every ravine and thicket swarmed with people searching for them. No one thought of their being concealed in the deserted old cabin in plain view of a number of houses, and they escaped without detection."

This raid created much commotion in Kansas and Missouri. The governor of the latter offered a reward of \$3000 for the capture of Brown, to which President Buchanan added \$250. To show his contempt for their efforts, Brown, according to Connelley, "immediately had printed a small handbill in which he publicly proclaimed

that he thereby offered a reward for Buchanan, declaring that if any lover of his country would deliver that august personage to him, well tied, at Trading Post, he would willingly pay such patriot the sum of two dollars and fifty cents. It is said that reflection upon the matter afterwards convinced him that this sum was more than the President was actually worth for any purpose."

The eleven slaves were now free and temporarily concealed in Kansas, but the enterprise that John Brown had on his hands was about as unpromising and visionary as any that he had ever conceived. These slaves were to be provisioned and conveyed through the dead of winter over one thousand miles to freedom under the British flag. He started with a plodding ox team, almost alone, poorly clothed and confronted at every town on the way with premium notices posted for his arrest. Many dangers confronted him and the difficulties to be overcome seemed almost insurmountable; but the stern old Puritan did not falter. Over frozen roads and through blinding blizzards the wagons moved slowly toward the goal of freedom.

Samuel Medary,* from Ohio, had been appointed governor of Kansas by President Buchanan and was now striving to arrest Brown as he moved northward with his liberated slaves. The sudden rising of a stream halted Brown and his charges and Medary gleefully notified Buchanan that the capture of Brown was assured. On January 31, 1859, the men sent to make

* Samuel Medary was born in Pennsylvania, February 25, 1801, and moved to Clermont county, Ohio, in 1825. He served in both branches of the legislature of Ohio, and by appointment was governor of the Territory of Minnesota and the Territory of Kansas. He was editor of the *Ohio Statesman* and the *Crisis*, both published in Columbus.

the arrest were suddenly fired upon by Brown and some reinforcements sent to his aid from Topeka. At the first volley the posse sent by Medary were panic stricken and fled in confusion to escape "the old terror," some leaping on behind their mounted comrades and others clinging to the horses' tails in their wild scramble to get away. Brown captured three of the men sent to arrest him, four horses and abandoned arms, while Medary and Buchanan were left empty-handed. Colonel Richard J. Hinton facetiously called this final fight of John Brown's on Kansas soil the "Battle of the Spurs," and it has ever since been so known in the history of that Territory.

Brown proceeded on his journey by way of Nebraska City, Tabor, Aurora, Des Moines, Grinnell, Iowa City and Springdale to West Liberty, where he boarded a train with his colored cargo for Chicago. Then they proceeded to Detroit and crossed to Windsor, Canada, where the slaves were finally delivered from the land of bondage. They had come in eighty-two days a distance of 1100 miles, 600 of which had been covered in wagons through the rigors of a northwestern midwinter.

From Canada Brown went to Cleveland, Ohio, where he sold the horses that he had captured at the "Battle of the Spurs." In offering them for sale he explained that "the title might be a little defective" but that they were "abolition horses." Asked how he knew this, he answered that he was certain of it because he had "converted" them. They brought a good price, however, as there were purchasers in Cleveland who were eager to get Buchanan horses from Kansas that had been "converted" by John Brown.

Arrangements had been made in Cleveland for a lecture in Chapin's Hall. This was well advertised in an announcement published in the Cleveland *Leader* of March 18, 1859. The meeting was to be held on the evening of that day. A violent storm prevented the attendance of many people and the lecture was postponed to March 21. The *Leader* again published a liberal and attractive notice. The meeting, however, was poorly attended. Representatives from the *Leader* and the *Plain Dealer* published rather full accounts of it. Artemus Ward reported this meeting for the *Plain Dealer*. The following characteristic excerpt is quoted from the account of "Ward" who had not at that time achieved great fame as a humorist but who was earning \$12 a week as a reporter:

"He is a medium-sized, compactly-built and wiry man, and as quick as a cat in his movements. His hair is of a salt and pepper hue and as stiff as bristles; he has a long, waving, milk-white goatee, which gives him a somewhat patriarchal appearance; his eyes are gray and sharp. A man of pluck is Brown. You may bet on that. He shows it in his walk, talk, and actions. He must be rising sixty, and yet we believe he could lick a yard full of wild cats before breakfast and without taking off his coat. Turn him into a ring with nine Border Ruffians, four bears, six Injuns and a brace of bull pups, and we opine that 'the eagles of victory would perch on his banner.' We don't mean by this that he looks like a professional bruiser, who hits from the shoulder, but he looks like a man of iron and one that few men would like to 'sail into'."

The report of the *Leader* is devoted about equally to the addresses of Kagi and Brown. It is complimentary, and somewhat extended. The following is a brief excerpt:

"Mr. Brown remarked that he was an outlaw, the governor of Missouri having offered a reward of \$3000 for him and the president \$250 more for him. He should never submit to an

arrest, as he had nothing to gain from submission, but he should settle all questions on the spot if an attempt was made to take him. The liberation of those slaves was meant as a direct blow to slavery and he laid down his platform that he considered it his duty to break the fetters from any slave when he had the opportunity. He was a thoroughgoing abolitionist. He stated many incidents in Kansas affairs and conveyed much information on territorial affairs.

"Mr. Brown is a man apparently sixty years old, and full of nerve and boldness. His narrative was highly interesting and instructive."

While the people of Cleveland did not flock out to hear Brown neither did his most rabid opponents in that city make any effort to have him arrested. He and Kagi here saw posted up in numerous places the offer of the rewards by the governor of Missouri and by President Buchanan for the arrest and detention of Brown. The opportunity to earn this reward, however, was not sufficiently tempting to lead any patriot to make the attempt. The fact was well understood that any effort in this direction would arouse the people of Cleveland in the defense of Brown.

At West Andover, Ashtabula County, while visiting at the home of his son, Brown received from Joshua R. Giddings, the eminent opponent of the slave power and congressman from the Western Reserve, an invitation to speak in the Congregational Church at Jefferson, the county seat. On Sunday, May 27, Brown was present in answer to this invitation and spoke after the church exercises.

After the raid at Harper's Ferry Giddings was accused of complicity in that affair and much was made of his previous entertainment of Brown at Jefferson. In a speech delivered in Philadelphia October 28, 1859,

Giddings stated his own attitude on the question of slavery as follows:

"While serving in Congress, Mr. Haskell, a slaveholder, inquired of me publicly whether I believed it morally right for slaves to leave their masters. I felt bound to speak frankly. I answered that I not only believed they could do so, but that it was morally wrong and wicked for them to remain in slavery an hour when they had the power to escape, even by slaying those who opposed their freedom; that were I a slave I would escape, if in my power, though compelled to walk upon the dead bodies of slaveholders from Mississippi to Malden."

Proceeding to the charge of association with Brown, he said:

"I am of opinion that he came to Jefferson on Saturday afternoon, and that so far as I am informed, his object was to make arrangements for the lecture.

"On Sabbath, after the regular services, he spoke in our church. The ministers of the church and of other churches, I think, attended the lecture. Ladies and gentlemen were present. Republicans and Democrats all listened to his story with attention. It is impossible for me at this time to give an abstract of the lecture. If anyone desires knowledge on this point, I would refer him to the Hon. Jonathan Warner, a Democratic leader of that county. He was present and one or two of his sons, and being very Pro-Slavery, he would be more likely to recollect particulars than myself. He spoke of the Kansas troubles, of his expedition into Missouri and bringing off some twelve or twenty slaves, and he urged it as a solemn Christian duty to assist slaves to obtain their freedom. He gave us clearly to understand that he held to the doctrines of the Christian religion as they were enunciated by the Savior. I am not aware that he spoke of going into slave states to aid slaves in escaping from bondage, but I had the impression that he would do so if opportunity should present. I think, however, that I inferred this from the fact that he had done it in Missouri, rather than from what he said. After he closed I addressed a few words to the audience in favor of a contribution, referring to his condition, to the death of his son and the fact that in his situation he had no business which he could follow for his support. I believe that every Democrat as well as Republican present gave something.

"After the close of the meeting I cordially invited him to take tea at my home. While there at the fireside, I inquired as to

the particulars of his Missouri expedition. Mrs. Giddings also put questions. I fully expressed my own opinions as to the crime of slavery, the right of the slave to his liberty at all times and under all circumstances."

Brown was in Kingsville, Ohio, April 7. He left for Peterboro, New York, on the 10th of that month. While he confided his plans only to trusted friends, he was now bending all his energies to preparation for the invasion of Virginia. He was busily engaged raising money and collecting arms and men for that enterprise. On May 7 he was with his ardent young friend, F. B. Sanborn, in historic Concord, Massachusetts, where he spoke in the town hall on the day following. He then went to Boston where he spent about three weeks visiting friends and supporters in that city. The week ending June 16 he spent with his family in their home at North Elba, New York. This was his last visit. On June 18 he was again with his son John at West Andover, Ohio. This entry in his journal of that date is of interest:

"Borrowed John's old compass and left my own* together with Gurley's book, with him at West Andover; also borrowed his small Jacob staff; also gave him for expenses \$15.00. Write him under cover to Horace Lindsley, West Andover."

From Akron, June 23, he wrote to his wife and family. This seems to have been the last letter addressed to them from this state. He wrote in part:

"We start for the Ohio River today. Write me under cover to John at West Andover, for the present. The frost has been far more destructive in western New York and in Ohio than it was in Essex County. Farmers here are mowing the finest looking wheat I ever saw, for fodder only. Jason has been quite a sufferer. May God abundantly bless and keep you all."

*This compass is now in the Museum of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society.

The reference in the above, of course, is to the great frost in June of that year which is still recalled by those living at that time. While in Ohio Brown visited for the last time Hudson, his old home town. On this trip he was also in Cherry Valley, Ohio. On June 23 he went to Pennsylvania, proceeding by easy stages from Pittsburgh, by way of Bedford Springs, to Chambersburg. On July 3 he reached Harper's Ferry, the end of his restless wanderings, the goal of all his striving. Returning to Chambersburg, he spent some time with Frederick Douglass, the colored orator, who opposed the plan as soon as he learned that it contemplated an attack on the United States arsenal at the Ferry. He felt that the anti-slavery cause would be injured by the contemplated attack on the federal government.

Arms and men were gradually assembled at the Kennedy farm not far from Harper's Ferry, for the proposed attack. The purpose of the movement was carefully concealed and the people of Harper's Ferry and the adjacent country were led to believe that these strangers were making a geological inspection of the surrounding mountains in search of mineral wealth. Brown himself, however, stated in conversation with farmers in this region that he was looking for a home to which he might move his family. He spoke of the destructive frost of that summer and said that he believed he would be better satisfied with a farm in Virginia. It is remarkable that his secret should have been kept so well by the assembling company for more than three months. In that time John Brown and his men became thoroughly acquainted with the government works at Harper's Ferry and the lay of the country surrounding the town.

The government at Washington knew nothing of the threatened raid, and yet there was in the office of the Secretary of War a letter bearing date of August 20, 1859, and warning the government of the contemplated attack. It gave in considerable detail Brown's plan, but was unsigned. The Secretary of War paid little attention to it and the warning was unheeded. After the raid Richard Raelf and Charles W. Moffet, two of John Brown's men who failed to come to Harper's Ferry, were suspected of having written this letter. Redpath in his *Life of John Brown* violently assails Raelf for this betrayal of the cause. In this conclusion he was wholly mistaken as he afterward acknowledged. It was not until long years afterward that David J. Gue, of Iowa, became publicly known as the real author. He with other Quaker friends resorted to this means to prevent the clash of arms at Harper's Ferry — to save John Brown and his men from the fate that would certainly overtake them. The anonymous letter was sent to the postmaster at Cincinnati to be remailed there. From that city it went to the Secretary of War.

The men of John Brown's company gradually assembled at the famous Kennedy house about six miles from Harper's Ferry. In order to avoid suspicion and make life here more homelike, Anne, the daughter of John Brown, and Martha, the wife of Oliver, came from North Elba to administer household affairs at the farm. John E. Cook had preceded the others to Harper's Ferry and for some time had been living with his young wife in that town. Following is the list of men who were finally marshalled and armed for the capture of the Ferry: John Brown, Watson Brown, Oliver Brown, Owen Brown, William Thompson, Dauphin Thompson,

John Henri Kagi, Aaron Dwight Stevens, John E. Cook, Charles Plummer Tidd, William H. Leeman, Edwin Coppoc, Barclay Coppoc, Albert Hazlett, Jeremiah G. Anderson, Francis Jackson Merriam, Steward Taylor, Shields Green, Dangerfield Newby, John A. Copeland, Jr., Lewis Sherrard Leary and Osborn P. Anderson.

Kagi, the Coppoc brothers and John Brown's three sons, Watson, Oliver and Owen, were all born in Ohio. Leary and Copeland enlisted from Oberlin, Ohio, and John Brown himself had grown up to manhood in this state.

Green, Newby, Copeland, Leary and Osborn P. Anderson were colored.

Thomas Jefferson in his *Notes on the State of Virginia*, written in 1787, has described, as viewed from Jefferson Rock, the natural scenery of the country where the Shenandoah and the Potomac meet off the peninsula on which Harper's Ferry stands:

"You stand on a very high point of land; on your right comes up the Shenandoah, having ranged along the root of the mountain a hundred miles to find a vent; on your left approaches the Potomac, in quest of a passage also. In the moment of their junction they rush together against the mountain, rend it asunder, and pass off to the sea. The scene is worth a voyage across the Atlantic; . . . these monuments of a war between rivers and mountains which must have shaken the earth itself to its centre."

It is a coincidence that at this spot should fall the bolt that shook a nation.

Sunday evening, October 16, 1859, was cloudy, damp and dark. In spite of the threatening weather, the attendance in the churches of the village was large. There had been a religious revival in this mountain region and the people came in crowds to hear the mes-

sage of peace. The services over, they started for their homes. On their way some of them were made prisoners and securely held in the enclosure at the old engine house, through the remainder of that gloomy and mysterious night. The dawning of the next day found Harper's Ferry, the armory, the arsenal and the rifle works in the hands of an unknown foe.

The story of this historic raid that startled the nation and terrified Virginia has been told often and well and in varied detail. It is told on other pages of this issue, for the first time in printed form, by an eye witness who also gives an account of Brown's trial, of his fortitude in prison and on the scaffold. To this is added an account of his execution, from the pen of an Ohio journalist, Murat Halstead. These contributions to the subject leave little room for additional portrayal or comment.

John Brown's enduring influence and fame were won after he became a captive at Harper's Ferry. When he lay helpless and bleeding with his sons dead at his side, with most of his followers captured or slain, and bore testimony to the cause for which he had fought and suffered and sacrificed, his message went throughout the land, to the civilized world. With a sword of steel and dauntless physical courage he was weak and inadequate; but with the "sword of the spirit" he was invincible. Thus it was that he challenged the respect of even his foes, "brought conviction to the erring" and added "numbers to that glorious army" who were to give the Republic "a new birth of freedom." The jail at Charlestown* became a temple from which he preached the gospel of universal liberty.

* Now spelled Charles Town.

Someone has said that if John Brown had been killed at the engine house in Harper's Ferry his epitaph would have been a score of lines in the newspapers to be forgotten in as many days, like the record of a desperado who dies by the law against which he raises a violent hand. He lived six weeks and by his bearing, his conversation and his letters won his great battle and the meed of martyrdom. In those forty-five days this son of Connecticut, this tanner, shepherd and farmer of Ohio, showed how he could fearlessly live for a principle and triumphantly die for it. That principle itself was soon to triumph in the Republic and give this Puritan defender a permanent place in history.

VALLANDIGHAM AND JOHN BROWN

At the time of the John Brown raid there were two representatives in Congress from Ohio of diametrically opposite views on political issues and the burning question of the hour. The attitude of Joshua R. Giddings on the slavery question has already been briefly set forth. The representative from the Dayton district, Clement L. Vallandigham, by ancestry and training was a strict constructionist and in political sympathy with the South. Like Giddings he was a man of high moral and religious character, but, unlike Giddings, in the heated political controversies of the times made no appeals to the "law higher than the constitution."

Vallandigham appeared early on the scene at Harper's Ferry after the capture of John Brown and his surviving men in the engine house. In company with Senator Mason he asked the old man while he lay bleeding on the floor a number of questions. The corre-

spondent of the New York *Herald* made a record of these questions and answers and this record has been preserved in Redpath's *Life of Captain John Brown* and a number of other biographies that have since been published. A few of these questions and answers are here reproduced:

Mr. Vallandigham. — "Have you ever been in Portage County?"

Brown. — "I was there in June last."

Mr. V. — "When in Cleveland, did you attend the Fugitive Slave Law Convention?"

Brown. — "No; I was there about the time of the sitting of the court to try the Oberlin rescuers. I spoke there publicly on that subject; I spoke on the Fugitive Slave Law, and my own rescue, of course. So far as I had any reference at all, I was disposed to justify the Oberlin people for rescuing a slave, because I have myself forcibly taken slaves from bondage. I was concerned in taking eleven slaves from Missouri to Canada last winter. I think I spoke in Cleveland before the Convention; do not know that I had any conversation with any of the Oberlin rescuers. Was sick part of the time I was in Ohio; had the ague. Was part of the time in Ashtabula County."

Mr. V. — "Did you see anything of Joshua R. Giddings there?"

Brown. — "I did meet him."

Mr. V. — "Did you consult with him?"

Brown. — "If I did I would not tell you, of course, anything that would implicate Mr. Giddings, but I certainly saw him and had a conversation with him."

Mr. V. — "I don't mean about this affair of yours, I mean about that rescue case."

Brown. — "Oh yes, I did hear him express his opinion on it very freely and frankly."

Mr. V. — "Justifying it?"

Brown. — "Yes, Sir; I do not compromise him by saying that."

Vallandigham was severely criticised in a number of papers of the North for asking these and other questions of Brown in his wounded condition. The impression at the time was that he had gone to Harper's Ferry

Rochester N. Y. 8th Feb^y, 1858.

Dearest Lov. John

Since writing you yesterday I have thought
of a way in which I feel quite confident you might save ^{me} for-
the secret service from \$500, to \$1000, provided I can get
you at once to undertake. I have as I think a number of real
friends in Congress Mr. Liddings, Sen Chaffee of Springfield,
Gen John Dick of Meadville Pa, Mr Sherman (of the invest-
—gating Committee) from Ohio, Mr Baurlingame from Mass.
I trust though not least our old friend Mr Clin of Troy N. Y.
With all these gentlemen I am more or less acquainted. Mr Clin

JOHN BROWN'S FRIENDS IN WASHINGTON.

It doubtless would have given Senator Mason, Governor Wise and Congressman Vallandigham much satisfaction to have this letter following the capture of John Brown. For full text see page 337.

with the express purpose of questioning Brown and leading him to implicate some of his northern friends, especially Joshua R. Giddings. It appears, however, that Vollandigham had started from Washington to his home in Ohio before he heard of the raid. The first news of it he got when he reached Baltimore. He was delayed there for some time and arrived in Harper's Ferry on the morning of the 19th of October. Here he met Senator Mason of Virginia, the author of the Fugitive Slave Law, who had been called to the Ferry by the insurrection. In company with Mason and a few others Vollandigham was permitted to see the prisoners in the engine house. John Brown and Stevens were there, severely wounded and covered with blood. Brown, however, did not object to talking with newspaper correspondents and answered very freely most of the questions that were asked by Vollandigham and Mason.

In answer to criticisms through the press Vollandigham, on October 22, 1859, addressed a letter to the Cincinnati *Enquirer* explaining his presence at Harper's Ferry and stating the purpose of his questions. Incidentally he gave his opinion of John Brown and the insurrection he had planned. His letter in part reads as follows:

"No 'interview' was asked for by me or any one else of John Brown, and none granted, whether 'voluntarily and out of pure good-will,' or otherwise. Brown had no voice in the matter, the room being open equally to all who were permitted to enter the Armory enclosure. All went and came alike without consulting Brown, nor did he know either myself or the other gentlemen with whom he conversed. Entering the room, I found Senator Mason, of Virginia, there casually, together with eight or ten others, and Brown conversing freely with all who chose to address him. Indeed he seemed eager to talk to every one; and

new visitors were coming and going every moment. There was no arrangement to have any reporter; nor did I observe for some minutes after I entered that any were present. Some one from New York was taking sketches of Brown and Stevens during the conversation, and the reporter of the *Herald* made himself known to me a short time afterward; but I saw nothing of the *Gazette* reporter till several hours later, and then at the hotel in the village.

"Finding Brown anxious to talk and ready to answer any one who chose to ask a question, and having heard that the insurrection had been planned at the Ohio State Fair held at Zanesville in September, I very naturally made the inquiry of him, among other things, as to the truth of the statement. Learning from his answers that he had lived in Ohio for fifty years, and had visited the state in May or June last, I prosecuted my inquiries to ascertain what connection his conspiracy might have had with the 'Oberlin Rescue' trials then pending, and the insurrectionary movement at that time made in the Western Reserve to organize forcible resistance to the Fugitive Slave Law; and I have only to regret that I did not pursue the matter further, asking more questions and making them more specific. It is possible that some others who are so tenderly sensitive in regard to what was developed might have been equally implicated. Indeed, it is incredible that a mere casual conversation, such as the one held by me with John Brown, should excite such paroxysms of rage and call forth so much vulgar but impotent vituperation, unless there be much more yet undisclosed. Certain it is that three of the negroes, and they from Oberlin, and at least six of the white men, nine in all out of the nineteen, including John Brown, the leader of the insurrection, were, or had been, from Ohio, where they had received sympathy and counsel, if not material aid in their conspiracy.

"But the visit and interrogation were both casual, and did not continue over twenty minutes at the longest. Brown, so far from being exhausted, volunteered several speeches to the reporter, and more than once insisted that the conversations did not disturb or annoy him in the least. The report in the New York *Herald*, of October 21st, is generally very accurate, though several of the questions attributed to me, and particularly the first four, ought to have been put in the mouth of 'Bystander,' who, by the way, represents at least half a score of different persons. As to the charge preferred of 'breach of good taste and propriety,' and all that, I propose to judge of it for myself, having been present on the occasion. There was neither 'interview,' 'catechising,' 'inquisition,' 'pumping,' nor any effort of the kind, but a short and casual conversation with the leader of a bold

and murderous insurrection, a man of singular intelligence, in full possession of all his faculties, and anxious to explain his plans and motives so far as possible without implicating his confederates otherwise than by declining to answer. The developments are important: let the galled jades wince.

"And now allow me to add that it is vain to underrate either the man or his conspiracy. Captain John Brown is as brave and resolute a man as ever headed an insurrection, and, in a good cause, and with a sufficient force, would have been a consummate partisan commander. He has coolness, daring, persistency, the stoic faith and patience, and a firmness of will and purpose unconquerable. He is tall, wiry, muscular, but with little flesh — with a cold gray eye, gray hair, beard and mustache, compressed lips and sharp aquiline nose, of cast-iron face and frame, and with powers of endurance equal to anything needed to be done or suffered in any cause. Though engaged in a wicked, mad and fanatical enterprise, he is the farthest possible remove from the ordinary ruffian, fanatic or madman; but his powers are rather executory than inventive, and he never had the depth or breadth of mind to originate and contrive himself the plan of insurrection which he undertook to carry out. The conspiracy was, unquestionably, far more extended than yet appears, numbering among the conspirators many more than the handful of followers who assailed Harper's Ferry, and having in the North and West, if not also the South, as its counsellors and abettors, men of intelligence, position and wealth. Certainly it was one among the best-planned and executed conspiracies that ever failed."

GOVERNOR WISE AND JOHN BROWN

Governor Henry A. Wise represented the almost unanimous sentiment of the slave holding aristocracy of the South but he exemplified also something of the chivalry for which that section is famous. His treatment of the prisoners at Charlestown was greatly to his credit and the same may be said of the local officials, Sheriff Campbell and the jailer, Captain Avis.

Shortly after the capture of Brown the governor was reported to have said to him, "Mr. Brown, the silver of your hair is reddened by the blood of crime

and you should eschew these hard words and think of eternity."

To this Brown replied:

"Governor, I have from all appearances not more than fifteen or twenty years the start of you in the journey to that eternity of which you kindly warn me; and whether my time here shall be fifteen months, or fifteen days, or fifteen hours, I am equally prepared to go. There is an eternity behind and an eternity before; and this little speck in the centre, however long, is but comparatively a minute. The difference between your tenure and mine is trifling, and I therefore tell you to be prepared. I am prepared. You all have a heavy responsibility, and it behooves you to prepare more than it does me."

In a public speech shortly after the raid Governor Wise gave the following estimate of Brown:

"They are mistaken who take Brown to be a madman. He is a bundle of the best nerves I ever saw; cut and thrust and bleeding, and in bonds. He is a man of clear head, of courage, fortitude, and simple ingenuousness. He is cool, collected, and indomitable, and it is but just to him to say that he was humane to his prisoners, and he inspired me with great trust in his integrity as a man of truth. He is a fanatic, vain and garrulous, but firm, truthful, and intelligent."

TWO INCIDENTS.

The large number of incidents that have been related in connection with John Brown's raid at Harper's Ferry and his imprisonment at Charlestown would fill a volume. Two of special interest are here briefly related.

Brown was eager to capture Colonel Lewis W. Washington, a great grandnephew of George Washington, because of his prominence and because he possessed a souvenir of great value which Brown desired to use in this first blow struck for the liberation of slaves in Virginia.

The souvenir was a sword, said to have been presented by Frederick the Great to George Washington. When Colonel Washington was surprised by a detachment of the raiders under the command of Aaron Dwight Stevens at midnight October 16, he was required to hand over this sword to Osborn Perry Anderson, a colored raider. Stevens was carrying out literally the direction of Brown who attached a special significance to the symbolism of this act — the transfer of the sword of the liberator, George Washington, to a representative of the race which Brown had inaugurated a new revolution to liberate.

Brown never forgot his own revolutionary ancestry. He carried the tombstone of his grandfather who died in the war for independence with him to North Elba where it now stands with his own name added and those of his sons who fell at Harper's Ferry. Governor Wise in his speech at Charlestown thus describes the capture of Colonel Washington and the sword of Frederick the Great:

"When Col. Washington was taken, his watch and plate and jewels and money were demanded, to create what they call a 'safety fund,' to compensate the liberators for the trouble and expense of taking away his slaves. This, by a law, was to be done with all slaveholders. Washington, of course, refused to deliver up anything; and it is remarkable that the only thing of material value which they took, besides his slaves, was the sword of Frederick the Great, which was sent to General Washington. This was taken by Stevens to Brown, and the latter commanded his men with that sword in this fight against the peace and safety of Washington's native State. He promised Col. Washington to return it to him when he was done with it. And Col. Washington says that he, Brown, was the coolest and firmest man he ever saw in defying danger and death. With one son dead by his side, and another shot through, he felt the pulse of his dying son with one hand and held his rifle with the other, and commanded his men with the utmost composure, encourag-

ing them to be firm and to sell their lives as dearly as they could."

A correspondent who related incidents that occurred at the Charlestown jail where many persons visited John Brown wrote as follows in regard to the visit of a local minister:

"Brown was visited yesterday by Rev. James H. March, of the M. E. Church. The reverend gentleman having advanced an argument in favor of the institution of slavery as it now exists, Brown replied to him, saying, 'My dear sir, you know nothing about Christianity; you will have to learn the A B C's in the lesson of Christianity, as I find you entirely ignorant of the meaning of the word. I, of course, respect you as a gentleman; but it is as a *heathen* gentleman.' The reverend gentleman here thought it best to draw such a discussion to a close, and therefore withdrew."

This incident has been fully verified by an associate minister of the gospel who has written an extended account of the raid at Harper's Ferry and Brown's imprisonment and execution.

BROWN'S SPEECH BEFORE RECEIVING SENTENCE.

Oswald Garrison Villard, who finds much to criticise as well as praise in the life of John Brown, speaks in approving terms of Brown's answer when asked by the court whether he had anything to say why sentence should not be passed upon him. "And well the crowd might be stirred," said he, "for what it was now to hear from the lips of the man for whose life it thirsted must forever remain on the list of great American speeches, an utterance worthy not merely of the man who voiced it, but of the mighty cause of human freedom for which he struck so powerful a blow." The speech is reported as follows:

"I have, may it please the Court, a few words to say.

"In the first place, I deny everything but what I have all along admitted: of a design on my part to free slaves. I intended certainly to have made a clean thing of that matter, as I did last winter, when I went into Missouri and there took slaves without the snapping of a gun on either side, moving them through the country, and finally leaving them in Canada. I designed to have done the same thing again on a larger scale. That was all I intended. I never did intend murder, or treason, or the destruction of property, or to excite or incite slaves to rebellion, or to make insurrection.

"I have another objection, and that is that it is unjust that I should suffer such a penalty. Had I interfered in the manner which I admit, and which I admit has been fairly proved — for I admire the truthfulness and candor of the greater portion of the witnesses who have testified in this case — had I so interfered in behalf of the rich, the powerful, the intelligent, the so-called great, or in behalf of any of their friends, either father, mother, brother, sister, wife or children, or any of that class, and suffered and sacrificed what I have in this interference, it would have been all right. Every man in this Court would have deemed it an act worthy of reward rather than punishment.

"This Court acknowledges, too, as I suppose, the validity of the law of God. I see a book kissed, which I suppose to be the Bible, or at least the New Testament, which teaches me that all things whatsoever I would that men should do to me, I should do even so to them. It teaches me, further, to remember them that are in bonds as bound with them. I endeavored to act up to that instruction. I say I am yet too young to understand that God is any respecter of persons. I believe that to have interfered as I have done, as I have always freely admitted I have done, in behalf of His despised poor, I did not wrong, but right. Now, if it is deemed necessary that I should forfeit my life for the furtherance of the ends of justice, and mingle my blood further with the blood of my children and with the blood of millions in this slave country whose rights are disregarded by wicked, cruel, and unjust enactments, I say, let it be done.

"Let me say one word further. I feel entirely satisfied with the treatment I have received on my trial. Considering all the circumstances, it has been more generous than I expected. But I feel no consciousness of guilt. I have stated from the first what was my intention, and what was not. I never had any design against the liberty of any person, nor any disposition to commit treason or incite slaves to rebel or make any general insurrection. I never encouraged any man to do so, but always discouraged any idea of that kind.

"Let me say, also, in regard to the statements made by some of those who were connected with me, I hear it has been stated by some of them that I have induced them to join me. But the contrary is true. I do not say this to injure them, but as regretting their weakness. Not one but joined me of his own accord, and the greater part at their own expense. A number of them I never saw, and never had a word of conversation with, till the day they came to me, and that was for the purpose I have stated.

"Now, I have done."

VICTOR HUGO ON JOHN BROWN

On the day of John Brown's execution Victor Hugo, at that time the leading literary writer of Europe, from his place of exile on the Island of Guernsey, wrote an address to the American people in which he said:

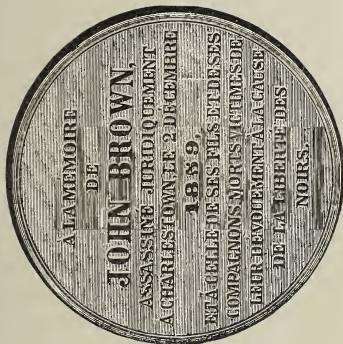
"At the thought of the United States of America, a majestic form rises in the mind, — Washington. In this country of Washington what is now taking place? * * *

"John Brown, condemned to death, is to be hanged today. His hangman is not the Attorney Hunter, nor the Judge Parker, nor Governor Wise, nor the little State of Virginia, — his hangman (we shudder to think it and say it!) is the whole American Republic. Politically speaking, the murder of Brown will be an irrevocable mistake. It will deal the union a concealed wound, which will finally sunder the states. Let America know and consider that there is one thing more shocking than Cain killing Abel, — it is Washington killing Spartacus."

On March 30, 1860, Hugo again wrote:

"Slavery in all its forms will disappear. What the South slew last December was not John Brown, but slavery."

Years after the Civil War when he himself had returned to his own France after the Franco-Prussian War and had had ample opportunity to become more familiar with the life of Brown, he and a number of his friends and associates had a gold medal struck and sent to the widow of John Brown in October, 1874.



CUT OF GOLD MEDAL PRESENTED TO THE WIDOW OF JOHN BROWN BY VICTOR HUGO AND HIS ASSOCIATES.

This gold medal has been transferred to the Kansas Historical Society. Through the kindness of Mrs. T. B. Alexander a bronze replica is in the Museum of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society.

Translation of Inscription.

To the memory of John Brown, legally assassinated at Charlestown the second of December, 1839; and to that of his sons and companions who died victims of their devotion to the cause of the liberty of the colored people.

Following is a translation of the letter that was sent with the medal:

"To Madam, Widow of John Brown:

PARIS, the 21st of October, 1874.

"MADAM —

"Many years have passed away since the day when your noble husband completed the sacrifice of a life devoted to the most benevolent of causes.

"From the gallows where he was hung has gone forth this cry of universal indignation which has been the signal for the complete deliverance of a disinherited race. Honor to him and his worthy sons, together with his widow: To the benedictions with which the present century follows their memory those of the future centuries will add themselves. Such thoughts must produce, madam, a great alleviation of your grief; but you have claimed the best compensation for your afflictions from this superior mandate, that above the poor justice of men soars the Supreme Justice, which leaves no good action without its recompense, neither any crime without its punishment. You will also receive, we hope, with a feeling of solace, this witness of the sympathy of the French republicans, the expression of which would have arrived less tardily but for the long and cruel ordeals through which our unfortunate country has just passed. We beg you, madam, to accept the homage of our profound respect.

"In the name of all their colleagues, the undersigned, members of the committee of subscription.

VICTOR HUGO

PATRICE LARROQUE
MELVIL BLONCOURT
CH. L. CHASSIN
LAURENT PICHAT
LOUIS BLANC

CAPRON
EUGENE PELLETON
ETIENNE ARAGO
V. SCHOELCHER
L. SORNET".

FUNERAL OF JOHN BROWN

On the day that John Brown was hung, bells were solemnly tolled throughout the North. In many cities and villages meetings were held by anti-slavery sympathizers, speeches were delivered and resolutions adopted.

In Cleveland, Akron and other cities of Ohio such action was taken. In Tremont Temple, Boston, at a great outpouring of people William Lloyd Garrison, in fervid eloquence preached "the resurrection of John Brown." In Concord Thoreau and Emerson paid tribute. At Cambridge Longfellow wrote in his diary, "This will be a great day in our history; the date of a new revolution — quite as much needed as the old." At other places "union meetings" were held to denounce John Brown and his work.

After the execution, the body of the old warrior was given to his widow and the funeral procession began and grew in impressiveness as it approached his old home in the Adirondacks. At Philadelphia such a great crowd had assembled that the progress of the little funeral party was for a time impeded. It was later joined by Wendell Phillips and as it proceeded through the state of New York bells were tolled in every town through which it passed and evidences were manifest that, of a truth, the resurrection of John Brown had begun.

At his humble home among the mountains the simple services were conducted, Wendell Phillips delivering the funeral oration. When his eloquent tribute ended "the members of a neighboring colored family sang some of the hymns for which he had cared" and his body was lowered to his fitting resting place among the everlasting hills.

POLITICAL EFFECT OF HARPER'S FERRY RAID

While the thrilling news of the attack at Harper's Ferry produced varied impressions and aroused diverse emotions, there were men in October, 1859, as there

have been since the foundation of our government, who were not so much concerned about the effect of the raid on the North, the South or the institution of slavery as they were interested in its influence on the destinies of the dominant political parties of the time. The Republican party had been rapidly gaining strength. Its great rival, through the effort of the Buchanan administration to force slavery upon Kansas, not only in that Territory but in the entire North had been losing ground and fighting a desperate battle to retain its power.

The attack at Harper's Ferry stirred the leaders of both parties and led them to the same conclusion. If in some way, they thought, the responsibility for this rash act should be fixed on the Republican party, which had encouraged the Free State men in Kansas, including old John Brown who had been prominent in the struggle there, that party would suffer, in consequence, serious losses at the ballot-box. This accounted for the early appearance at Harper's Ferry of United States Senator James Mason, of Virginia, and other men of his political faith. John Brown had not ceased to bleed from his numerous wounds before they plied him with questions designed to lead to the incrimination of his friends who had aided him by contributions of money or otherwise in preparation for the attack. Their questions, which are a matter of record, clearly proved their purpose. Their efforts failed. In his extremity Brown was faithful to his friends, and he courageously asserted his entire responsibility for the raid and all his actions.

While certain political opponents were trying to fix responsibility upon Republican leaders for complicity in the raid, these leaders were most industriously denying any knowledge of it or sympathy with it.

Abraham Lincoln, on December 2, 1859, stated:

"Old John Brown has been executed for treason against a state. We cannot object, even though he agreed with us in thinking slavery wrong. That cannot excuse violence, bloodshed and treason. It could avail him nothing that he might think himself right."

On February 27, 1860, in his notable speech at Cooper Union, New York, he dwelt somewhat at length upon the same subject and said among other things:

"That affair, in its philosophy, corresponds with the many attempts, related in history, at the assassination of kings and emperors. An enthusiast broods over the oppression of a people till he fancies himself commissioned by Heaven to liberate them. He ventures the attempt, which ends in little else than his own execution. Orsini's attempt on Louis Napoleon and John Brown's attempt at Harper's Ferry were in their philosophy precisely the same."

William H. Seward, at the time of the execution the most prominent candidate for the Republican nomination for president, was even more explicit in his condemnation. He declared "that this attempt to execute an unlawful purpose in Virginia by invasion, involving servile war, was an act of sedition and treason, and criminal in just the extent that it affected the public peace and was destructive of human happiness and life."

All of the leading Republican papers condemned the act, though many of them coupled with their condemnation denunciation of slavery, that had maddened men to undertake this rash enterprise. *The New York Tribune*, perhaps the most prominent of these, regarded Brown as "a madman." *The Independent*, a radical anti-slavery paper, on the 20th of October, 1859, described Brown as "a lawless brigand."

In the days intervening between the attack on Har-

per's Ferry and the execution of those who participated in it, however, a great change was noticeable in the comment of these papers. *The Independent* on November 24 editorially stated, "The people's verdict has already stamped John Brown as a brave and honest man. * * * What is it that will be hanged on the gallows before the eyes of all men? Not John Brown, but slavery. * * * John Brown swinging on the gallows will ring the knell of slavery." The issue of this paper for December 8 contains the following on the influence of Brown:

"No man has ever made such a profound impression on this nation through his moral heroism. * * * Each of his actions, every word he spoke up to the time of his execution has only strengthened and increased the power of his example. He grew constantly greater up to the end. He was greatest at the last, when most men would have been weakest."

It was perfectly natural for the leaders of both political parties to conclude that any suspicion of sympathy with the work of John Brown would seriously detract from the support of the party manifesting such sympathy. Politicians of that day were similar to those of our own time, who probably under like circumstances would act much the same. Their judgment, however, as to the influence of the Harper's Ferry raid upon the destiny of parties was fundamentally wrong. The executions at Charlestown reached profounder depths than the appeals of campaign orators. They solidified the South in defense of slavery. They aroused the North and set the bells to tolling from Maine to Kansas. Abraham Lincoln and William H. Seward might condemn and deplore Harper's Ferry, but it was perhaps making more votes than any other one influence for their party and

rapidly preparing the way for the elevation of one of them to the presidency of the United States. A few years later we shall hear Abraham Lincoln, from the highest office within the gift of the American people, calling upon all who are loyal to the Union to overthrow the institution of slavery by the force of arms; and his appeal was frequently couched in the spirit of the letters written by John Brown while in prison.

SHADOWS AND EVENTS

The raid at Harper's Ferry and the executions at Charlestown were prophetic of the cataclysm to follow. While eminent statesmen did not see this, others divined it and their predictions bear testimony to the fact that in this instance at least —

“Coming events cast their shadows before.”

When he left the jail on his way to the place of execution, John Brown handed to a reporter his last written statement:

“I, John Brown, am now quite certain that the crimes of this guilty land will never be purged but with blood. I had, as I now think vainly, flattered myself that without very much bloodshed it might be done.”

Edwin Coppoc, a Quaker boy who was hanged two weeks later, in a letter three days before his execution, wrote:

“Thank God, the principles of the cause in which we were engaged will not die with me and my brave comrades. They will spread wider and wider and gather strength with each hour that passes. The voice of truth will echo through the land, bringing conviction to the erring and adding numbers to that glorious army who will follow its banner. The cause of everlasting truth

Charlestown, Jefferson, Co Va, 2^d Dec, 1859.

Lora Case Esqr

My Dear Sir

Your Most

Kind & cheering letter of the 28th Nov is received. Such an outburst of warm hearted sympathy not only for myself, but also for those who have no help ^{per} compells me to steal a moment from those above me; in which to pre-pare for last great change to send you a few words. Such a feeling as you manifest makes you to "shine in my estimation in the midst of this wicked & perverse generation as a light in the world" May you ever prove you self equal to the high estimate I have placed on you. Pure & undefiled religion before God & the Father is" as I understand it: an active (not a dormant) principle. I do not undertake to direct any more about my Children. I leave that now entirely to their excellent Mother from whom I have just posted. I send you my salutation with my own hand. Remember me to all yours & my dear friends. Yours, Friend

John Brown

I received this letter of
John Brown Dec 10th 1859. Written on the day of execution
Lora Case Born Nov 18th 1811.

JOHN BROWN'S LAST LETTER

So far as known, this is the last of Brown's letters, though others may have been written on the morning of his execution. This and the prophetic statement on the preceding page are his only writings that have been published, bearing the date of December 2, 1859. Lora Case, of Hudson, Ohio, was a devoted friend of John Brown.

and justice will go on conquering and to conquer, until our broad and beautiful land shall rest beneath the banner of freedom."

Victor Hugo, Edmund C. Stedman, William Dean Howells, Wendell Phillips, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Moncure D. Conway and scores of other prominent men united in declaring that the execution of Brown would ring the knell of slavery.

It is remarkable how that event brought together many of the actors in the mighty conflict soon to be. Over the gallows at Charlestown the hand of Fate wrought a paradox. Hither came to witness the execution Colonel Robert E. Lee, in a uniform of blue, soon to be exchanged for one of gray and the rank of commander-in-chief of the armies of the southern Confederacy. There was Governor Henry A. Wise, and there in the ranks of the Virginia troops was his promising son, the former to rise to the rank of brigadier general and the latter to lose his life in the service of the Confederacy. At the head of the cadets from Lexington stood stalwart Thomas J. Jackson, destined to become the Stonewall Jackson of history and to fall on the field of Chancellorsville. Henry C. Pate, leader of the Missourians and the captive of John Brown at Black Jack in Kansas, who witnessed with satisfaction the ignominious death of his oldtime foe, was soon to be a Confederate colonel and Lieutenant J. E. B. Stewart, who released Pate in Kansas, was later to become a famous Confederate cavalry general, and both were to die on the same battle field. John Augustine Washington, great-great-grandnephew of George Washington, was to pour out his blood on Virginia soil for the Confederate cause. Conspicuous for his horsemanship and soldierly bearing among the assembled troops was Cap-

tain Turner Ashby, afterwards a Confederate general, who lost his life for "the lost cause." While there with the Richmond troops, that wayward evil genius, John Wilkes Booth, witnessed an act which was to pale into insignificance compared to his murderous deed that plunged the Republic into woe and shocked the civilized world.

And there, the master of ceremonies on this occasion, in gorgeous uniform, armed and bespangled, rode General William B. Taliaferro, who served and survived the Confederacy; and in the ranks of his men were many who were to rise to distinction and shed their blood in uniforms of gray.

And all these were here to punish treason — to vindicate and uphold the majesty of the law of the United States and the commonwealth of Virginia.

Fate turned the kaleidoscope, and lo! all these by the same token became themselves traitors and boldly joined an insurrection to rend the Union asunder!

In order that the paradox might be complete, all the surviving followers of John Brown able to bear arms put on the uniform of blue and fought under the flag to preserve the Republic and blot "the dark stain of slavery * * * from our land." Richard J. Hinton, Thomas Wentworth Higginson, John Brown, Jr., Barclay Coppoc, Charles P. Tidd, Francis J. Merriam, Salmon Brown, Charles Moffett, Luke F. Parsons Osborn P. Anderson, Richard Raelf, Charles Lenhart, and others who were identified with Brown in Kansas or elsewhere answered the call of the Nation. The first two rose to the rank of colonel. Others gave their lives and all followed the flag with loyalty and zeal.

It is remarkable, too, that Governor Wise who so

eloquently denounced traitors in 1859, in 1861 should himself become one of the chief agents in taking Virginia out of the Union and the chief conspirator in the capture of the arsenal at Harper's Ferry and the transfer of the arms there to the enemies of the United States government;* and that this same governor, a year and a half later, should rejoice that armed forces were on their way to consummate the treasonable act that he had planned, and that he should exhort Virginians to take a lesson from John Brown and with spears and lances spill the blood of their craven Yankee foes.

Swiftly, with startling and dramatic sequence, the scenes shifted on the stage of history. Eighteen months after John Brown mounted the scaffold with the step of a conqueror and stood unawed with the hangman's rope around his neck, the Twelfth Massachusetts Regiment

* For all of Governor Wise's admiration of John Brown as a man, he did not hesitate to describe him and his men as "murderers, traitors, robbers, insurrectionists," and "wanton, malicious, unprovoked felons." Yet just a year and a half later, April 16, 1861, Henry A. Wise, then out of office and with no more legal authority for his acts than had John Brown, actively conspired with Captain—later General—J. D. Imboden, General Kenton Harper and the superintendent, Alfred W. Barbour, and through them captured the Harper's Ferry arsenal precisely as had John Brown, save that there was no loss of life. But the blow was none the less directly aimed at the Federal Government. The undertaking of this act of treason was a compelling reason for the passage of the Virginia Ordinance of Secession on April 17, 1861. Governor Wise dramatically announced to the Secession convention that "armed forces are now moving upon Harper's Ferry to capture the arms there in the Arsenal for the public defence, and there will be a fight or a foot-race between volunteers of Virginia and Federal troops before the sun sets this day." On June 1, this same Henry A. Wise, whose abhorrence of John Brown's acts had been so profound, in a speech at Richmond urged his neighbors to: "Get a spear—a lance. Take a lesson from John Brown, manufacture your blades from old iron, even though it be the tires of your cart-wheels." Forgetful, too, of his panegyric of his Yankee captive's bravery and coolness, he assured his auditors that: "Your true-blooded Yankee will never stand still in the presence of cold steel." In so scant a space of time as a year and a half had the erstwhile Governor, by a singular revolution of the wheel of fate, himself come to occupy the position of a rebel against the established political order. *John Brown, A Biography Fifty Years After.* By Oswald Garrison Villard.

was on its way south to put down the rebellion and singing as it went:

"John Brown's body lies moldering in the grave,
But his soul goes marching on."

And the chorus of this battle song went on from Bull Run to Appomattox.

The second day of December, 1859, was clear and the spirit of peace seemed to rest on the Virginian valleys and mountains. But this was only the calm that precedes the storm. Over these roads were soon to march contending armies. The rocky escarpments of the Blue Ridge were to shake with the thunders of cannon; the heights of Bolivar were to be strewn with the dead and dying; the Potomac and the Shenandoah were to bear again ensanguined stains; the mighty hosts of the blue and the gray were to be swept into the red whirlwind of civil war.

Abraham Lincoln who sought to avert the crisis was soon calling for troops to preserve the Union and destroy slavery by force of arms. He too had moved far on the tide that had borne the Nation from its old moorings. Not infrequently his statements, in spirit, were in harmony with those from the jail at Charlestown. In his last inaugural address, almost from the brink of eternity, he uttered in those solemn, poignant words the decree that not only rebellion but slavery should perish by the sword:

"Fondly do we hope, fervently do we pray, that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondsman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years

ago, so still it must be said, 'The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether'."

And not until the venerated Lincoln had joined the list of martyrs and John Wilkes Booth had paid the penalty for his dire deed could a distracted country say in the presence of the awful tragedy, "It is finished."



THE EXECUTION OF JOHN BROWN.*

BY MURAT HALSTEAD

The execution of John Brown was on the second of December, 1859; the scene, in a field a furlong south of Charlestown, seven miles from Harper's Ferry. The sensation caused by the John Brown raid was something wonderful. The excitement of the whole country was out of all proportion to the material incidents. The shock was because the feeling of the people that the slavery question had reached an acute stage and demanded uncompromising attention, was general, and there was apprehension that there were conditions upon the country of "unmerciful disaster" — a public sensibility that an immense catastrophe was impending.

As a correspondent of the *Cincinnati Commercial*, to write the story of the hanging of old John Brown, I carried letters from Dr. Dandridge, cousin of Colonel Washington, to that gentleman, and from the Hon. George H. Pendleton, to the superintendent of the Harper's Ferry rifle-works of the United States. On the journey I fell in with the Baltimore police scouts, who by command of the Governor of Virginia had explored "the abolition counties of Ohio" in search of military organizations, made up in violation of the peace and dignity of the United States, for "another raid on Virginia."

* Written for the *New York Independent*. See Connelly's *John Brown*, pages 384-393.

When we reached Harper's Ferry the station was in the hands of the military, and I was driven about at the point of the bayonet for some time before finding a place to stand and wait a few minutes. There was a hole ragged with splinters at the corner of the station-house, constructed of plank, but put together with tongue and groove, said to mark the course of "the ball from a yager with which old Brown killed a man." Inside Brown's fort was a plain red stain on the whitewashed brick wall, the blood of Brown when, overpowered, he was wounded with a cutlass and thrust down with a strong hand. There was a curved red streak and a few long hairs where the gashed head of the old man had been rubbed against the whitened bricks. The superintendent of the rifle-works was a cautious official. He took a member of the Legislature of Pennsylvania and myself in his carriage, and putting on a belt with two revolvers we were driven along a good turnpike through a pleasant country to the county seat, where Brown was tried and was the next day to be executed. By the roadside there were marks of fire, the burning of stacks, and the explanation, "The niggers have burned the stacks of one of the jurors who found Brown guilty." There was no reference to the fact that the superintendent took his pistols with him for a daylight drive over seven miles of turnpike through a highly cultivated country. That was taken as a matter of course. There was greater alarm among the people of Virginia than could be accounted for by comparison with the experience of communities into which the slave element did not enter. It was doubtless that deep sense of insecurity that widened into awful alarms at the suggestion of slave insurrections—the fact that society was permeated

with stories of West-Indian wars of races, especially the traditions, more terrible than history, of the San Domingo horrors. The town, then and always to be distinguished as the place of the trial of John Brown, and his death, was crowded with the troops of Virginia, and there was a marked absence of the people of the surrounding country. The uniforms of the militia of Virginia were as various as the companies were numerous. There was no uniformity of dress or weapons. There were a troop of cavalry, a battery of field guns, and about two thousand infantry, the whole under the command of General Taliaferro, whose headquarters were at the Washington House. There was the palpable excitement of conscious history-making, and trifling incidents magnified by common consent.

The fact about myself best known was that I had a letter from Dr. Dandridge to Colonel Lewis Washington and one from George H. Pendleton to the Harper's Ferry superintendent. My connection with an "abolition newspaper" was quite subordinated, but there were many inquiries as to my "views" of the John Brown raid, and I did not insist upon attempting to vindicate the old farmer, so suddenly and strangely a world's hero. Indeed, the close contact with the events of the raid made it difficult to resist the impression that Brown was an unbalanced man, one whose exaltation was akin to insanity. The philosophy, the philanthropy, the martyrdom, the religion of humanity, the spiritual sanctification, and immense, romantic and tragic interpretations placed upon the raid of "The Man of Osawatomie" by Victor Hugo and Ralph Waldo Emerson, the latter declaring that "the gallows was made glorious like the cross," had in the immediate presence of the miserable

skirmishing and the shedding of the blood of men who were, by all the customary tests, kindly disposed to be orderly, neighborly, humane, become obscure, belonging to the sentimental, the imaginative, and the impossible.

Late in the evening Mrs. Brown arrived in a dingy hack, escorted by the horsemen who became known in the war that was on two years later as "The Black Horse Cavalry." As the carriage approached the jail the artillery, which had been arranged on either side of the door, was trundled across the street and turned about, the muzzles open-mouthed upon the prison. There was much parade and shuffling of military figures in the execution of this maneuver, and then Mrs. Brown was taken to her husband's cell, when he was reported to have repeated to her often the admonition, "My dear, you must keep your sperrets up" — "sperrets" pronounced as here spelled; but a very strict and close guard was kept upon the pair.

As the evening wore on, General Taliaferro was seated surrounded by his staff, in the public room of the hotel. A young man, tall and lithe, and wearing a military dress, rushed up to him and said hurriedly in my hearing: "General, I am told, sir, and believe, that Henry Ward Beecher is coming here tomorrow to pray on the scaffold with old Brown, and I pledge you my word if he does he shall be hanged along with Brown." The General stared coldly and said with deliberation and severe dignity: "If Mr. Beecher comes, as you say, I pledge my word of honor, sir, that while I live not a hair of his head shall be harmed, sir; not one hair of his head shall be harmed."

On the morning of the execution the troops were early stirring. The murmur of camps filled the air.

There were no visitors trailing along the roads, to be witnesses of the solemn function. It was forbidden. The people far and near were ordered to be alert at home. Therefore, when the hollow square of the military companies was formed about the scaffold there was not even a fringe of civil spectators. There were reporters, surgeons, three or four politicians of distinction, and one woman on the roof of a house nearly a quarter of a mile distant. The Hon. James M. Ashley was in the town with Col. Henderson of Kansas, and introduced him as "the worst of the border ruffians," an announcement usually received with approbation of the humor in it and of the fact also. Ashley had just dropped in from the West, and was held to be of those interested in the care of Mrs. Brown and her Quaker escort from Philadelphia. A story has been largely circulated that as Brown left the jail he kissed a colored child, and there are paintings and poetry to that effect. When he stepped out of the prison there was not a group other than military in sight. I was not on the spot at the moment, but saw the street before the jail filled with guns and soldiers and horses, staff officers and officials, and no one else during the morning. I had walked, before Brown came out, to the vicinity of the scaffold where the militia companies were marching into the positions assigned them. The most striking horseman on the field, Turner Ashby, galloped around bearing orders and giving directions, mounted on a spotted stallion with a wonderful mane and tail, flowing like white silk from neck and rump, almost sweeping the ground. The Colonel and his horse—and the horsemanship of the Colonel was worthy his steed—were a gallant show. Ashby was killed in battle, defending for his

state the Valley of the Shenandoah. There seemed to be no attainable end of the evolution of the troops in preparation for the ceremony. I distinctly remember in the movement the gaunt, severe figure of an officer whose command was a company of bright boys. It was the contrast between the stern man and the gay youths that formed a picture for me, and I heard the word as they passed — "Lexington Cadets." The man was Prof. Jackson, later the Confederate hero, "Stonewall."

The day was extremely beautiful and mild. The highly cultivated farms, the village, the broad landscape, browned by the frosts of November, framed in the ranges of the Blue Ridge — blue indeed, a daintily defined wall, of a blue shade more delicate than the sky. Though it was "the day of Austerlitz" as the days of the season are marked, the clover in the stubble was green, and the ground so warm and dry the reporters reclined upon it with comfort and exchanged observations in the spirit of levity with which the representatives of the press relieve, when witnesses of true tragedies, the strains upon their vitality.

The procession from the jail to the scaffold was brilliant. The General commanding had a staff more resplendent than that of Field Marshal Moltke and King William, when they rode together over their battlefields in France. Old John Brown was seated on his coffin in the bed of a wagon, of the fashion farmers call a wood wagon, an open body and no cover. He wore a battered black slouch hat, the rim turned squarely up in front, giving it the aspect of a cocked hat. This was that his vision might not be impeded, and he looked with evident enjoyment upon the country, saying it was the first time he had the pleasure of seeing it. His words were re-

peated at the time. The man I saw as he was in the wagon and as he was helped upon the scaffold — he had about a dozen steps to ascend — his arms pinioned by ropes at the elbows, tied firmly, so that his hands were free while the upper arms were bound at his waist. He wore a baggy brown coat and trousers, and red carpet slippers over blue yarn socks, and stood firmly but in an easy attitude on the trap-door, which was sustained by a rope. Then a stout white cord of cotton, provided by some cotton planters who thought there was propriety in it — something symbolical in it — was placed over the iron-gray, sturdy head, the noose dropped easily around his neck and tightened so that it would not slip, but so as not to give physical discomfort. The face of the old man was toward the east, the morning light on it, and the figure perfectly in dress and pose, and all appointments, that of a typical western farmer — a serious person upheld by an idea of duty — the expression of his features that of a queer mingling of the grim, and, to use a rural word, the peart. The white cap was pulled down, and still the troops were moving, falling into a hollow square — a formation that had not been rehearsed. This became tedious. Brown asked that there should be no delay. The suspense was distressing, and from the ascent of the scaffold to the fall of the trap and the sharp jerk upon the white cord, the time was nearly eighteen minutes. This was not, though often stated, with the purpose of torture, but the delay of the military to get into assigned places. Brown's hands gave the only sign of emotion that possessed him. He was rubbing his thumbs hard but slowly on the inside of his forefingers, between the first and second joints, as one braces himself with a nervous grasp upon

the arms of a dentist's chair when a tooth is to be drawn. It is no wonder Brown asked the sheriff about the waiting. There was deep stillness as the form of the victim plunged six feet and the rope twanged as its burden lengthened a little and shivered. Then the body began to whirl as the cord slackened and twisted, and the rapid movement caused the short skirts of the coat to flutter as in a wind. About a quarter of an hour was spent by the surgeons climbing the stairs and holding the suspended body to their ears, listening to see if the heart continued to act. One of the reporters was moved to say, as if he had prepared a deliverance and was getting it off contrary to a better judgment, "Gentlemen, the honor of old Virginia has been vindicated." There was no response to the sentiment.

The road to Harper's Ferry was soon filled with carriages at high speed. There was dust flying. In the yard of a farm-house were a half-dozen lads playing soldier, one beating a small drum. This was the highway along which more than any other surged to and fro the armies of the Nation and the Confederacy. Colonel Washington, while on General Lee's staff, was killed in western Virginia by an Indiana sharpshooter,* and I remember well his stately presence, not unworthy to represent the name he bore, and his courtesy and kindness to one who represented a newspaper and held there was no cause more sacred in the world than that of the freedom of the Territories and the extinction of slavery;

* It was not Colonel Lewis Washington, as Mr. Halstead evidently supposed, but Lieutenant Colonel John A. Washington, great-great-grand nephew of George Washington, who was killed while serving on General Lee's Staff.—Ed.

and the death of Ashby, Pate and Wise* seemed a grievous sacrifice of manhood.

Something more than ten years later, August, 1870, in eastern France, I was with the German invaders of the fair land of Lorraine, and one day as I looked upon a division of the Grand Army of the Red Prince, a monstrous mass of men with the spikes of their helmets and their bayonets glittering over them under a vast tawny cloud of dust, I heard with amazement a deep-throated burst of song in English, and it was:

"John Brown's body is moldering in the ground,
But his soul is marching on.
Glory, Hallelujah!"

The German invaders often sang magnificently while marching. German soldiers in our army in the war of the States returning to the Fatherland to fight the French taught their comrades the splendid marching-song which the legions of the North sang along the historic highways of Virginia, that Father Abraham's boys were coming and the soul of John Brown was marching on. There is a bust of gold of Brown, presented his widow by Victor Hugo, in the State Museum at Topeka, Kansas, shown by the venerable superintendent, with an apology, for it is a bad portraiture of the Hero of Osawatomie and martyr of Harper's Ferry. It is the only likeness of him giving the chief characteristic of his countenance of the morning of his last day that I have seen, except in the sketches taken for Harper's Weekly on the spot, by Porte Crayon. The French makers of the golden bust must have caught the keen

* Not Governor Wise, but his son, O. Jennings Wise, who entered the Confederate service and was killed at the battle of Roanoke Island.
— Ed.

lines of this artist's pencil, showing the weirdness that had crept into Brown's strong face when his eyes beheld unearthly scenes, his mind wandering in the regions on the boundary of two worlds — he must have seen cloud-capped domes not rounded by human hands — invisible by mortal eyes unless introspectively. One wonders whether the old farmer, as he waited on the scaffold, could have beheld as in a dream — as one sees at night in stormy darkness, when there is a flame of lightning, a misty mountain-top — a vision incredible, but not unsubstantial, of his own apotheosis and immortality.



JOHN BROWN AT HARPER'S FERRY AND CHARLESTOWN

A LECTURE.

BY S. K. DONOVAN.

[This lecture by Colonel S. K. Donovan was delivered a number of times in Ohio, but was never before printed. The original manuscript is in the possession of his sister, Miss Sallie Donovan, of Delaware, Ohio, by whose permission it is now published. Colonel Donovan once stated to the writer that he was the first newspaper correspondent to reach Harper's Ferry after the raid began. When he arrived there he shared the hostile feelings of the Virginians toward the raiders. The lecture shows how completely what he saw and heard at Harper's Ferry and Charlestown changed his views to enthusiastic sympathy with John Brown. Colonel Donovan's paper was prepared for the platform, not as a contribution for a historical magazine. It has been thought best however, to publish it just as he left it. For a sketch of his life see page 346. — *Ed.*]

The history of the United States makes note of two important raids which had their origin in a difference of political sentiment. The first is known as the raid into Kansas Territory. The second is the raid into the valley of Virginia. Those who participated in the first, with the exception of a few who were killed in fight, were never called upon to answer for their acts in a court of justice. Those who participated in the second, with the exception of a few who escaped, were either killed in fight, captured and cruelly murdered, or taken prisoner, tried and executed on the scaffold.

To those in my audience, who in the fifties were of mature years and thoughtful minds, it is not necessary

for me to say one word to refresh their memories as to the incidents, calamities and tragedies which made up the history of the every day life of the residents of Kansas Territory. To those of my audience who constitute the generation which has arisen since that eventful period, I have only time to say that the years to which I refer were filled with important events, and that these were succeeded by a series of still more important events, which found their climax in the destruction of slavery in the United States.

The aggressiveness of the slave power reached its ultimate, when, with barbaric violence, it attempted to fasten its leprosy upon the virgin soil of Kansas. From the foundation of our government up to the year 1860, the slave power was dominant in the control of national affairs. It was immaterial which of the two great political parties was in control; the slave power dictated the policy and dominated the conduct of affairs.

With the development of the great West, however, the slaveocracy felt its power slipping from its grasp. Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Iowa, California and Oregon had been admitted to the sisterhood of States and dedicated to freedom. As the slave power recognized the advancing steps of liberty, it became aggressive, intolerant, malignant. It was no longer satisfied with the compromises under the constitution, which it had proposed and which it had adopted to make secure its power. It demanded the repeal of the most important one, that known as the Missouri Compromise, which limited the existence of the peculiar institution to the country south of the parallel of $36^{\circ} 30'$ north, and claimed the right to carry slavery into every foot of the territories of the United States. To this arrogant

assumption the northern people were patient. Their disapproval found but one mode of expression, that of earnest protestation. With repeal of the Missouri Compromise, however, the northern people awakened to the startling fact that the South was no longer satisfied with being dominant in national affairs; it had determined to become absolute. Every acre of the vast public domain was to be dedicated to slavery.

In its arrogance and confident assumption of power, the slaveocracy challenged the sentiment of the North to contest and selected the then Territory of Kansas as the field of battle. On the part of the slave power the contest was not to be a peaceful, intellectual and moral combat, which would find its solution in the result of a ballot, honestly cast and honestly counted. No. It inaugurated the fight by the organization of thousands of men, not citizens of the Territory of Kansas, but citizens of the State of Missouri, and these organized marauders armed, equipped and mounted, crossed the border, carrying sword and fire in advance, and leaving death and ashes in their wake. They committed every violent crime known to the calendar. Rapine, arson, murder, and that nameless crime which brutal passion incites and still more brutal power executes.

Thousands of families had emigrated from the free states and had settled on the fertile plains of Kansas. They went to their new home with honest intent, to make it their earthly abiding place, tame the wildness of nature, rear their offspring and in the end to become a part of its dust. They carried with them their love of liberty, their love of labor, their willingness and ability to suffer and endure, their hatred of slavery, their religious faith, their open recognition of the love, mercy

and justice of God. Among the many intrepid and courageous spirits attracted to the scene of conflict, was one who embodied every quality and characteristic necessary to give effectiveness to effort.

Preceded by four sons and a son-in-law,* John Brown went to Kansas. He was immediately recognized as a leader of men, and in the eventful years which followed he was ever found a commander in defense, a leader in attack. He shared to as large a degree as any other man in the Territory the privations, the sufferings, the sacrifices and the heroic actions which finally resulted in the success of the Free-State party and rescued Kansas from the barbarism of slavery. Familiarized, by actual contact with the brutality of slavery, his hatred to the institution became intensified while the loss of a son, cruelly murdered by the pro-slavists, left a wound in his heart which never healed. Thus much I have deemed necessary, relative to the raid into Kansas Territory, that you may be the better able to judge of the character thereof, and make comparison with that and the raid into the valley of Virginia.

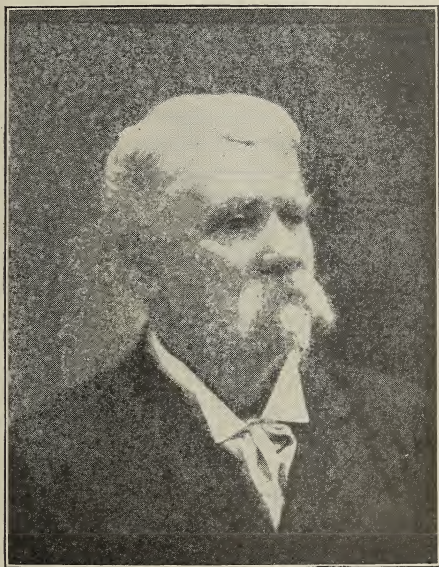
That you may more fully comprehend my lecture, it is necessary that you should have a clear conception of the topography of Harper's Ferry. Harper's Ferry is located on a triangular point of land formed by the juncture of the Shenandoah with the Potomac river. Imagine that I am facing the east as I stand. Here, having its sources in the mountains of the northwest, flows the Potomac. As it reaches a point near the Ferry, its course is almost due east. The land for five hundred feet from its waters is flat, a plain. Then it commences to rise, abruptly at first and at points almost perpendic-

* Five sons. See page 232.

ularly, so that a half a mile back the ground is three hundred feet above the waters of the Potomac. This extreme height is known as Bolivar Heights. A street starts at its summit and runs down the hill towards the centre of the Ferry until it reaches a point within two hundred yards of the juncture of the rivers where it intersects a street but does not cross. The flat ground on the banks of the Potomac had been purchased by the government of the United States, which had thereon erected buildings for the manufacture of small arms. The grounds were enclosed. The track of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad coming from the west, as it entered the government grounds, rested on trestles, and these trestles increased in height eastward until when they reached the junctures of the rivers the rails were twenty feet from the ground. The Baltimore and Ohio Railroad had laid down a platform extending west three hundred feet. As you entered the Armory grounds, the first building to the left was a one story brick, destitute of windows, with ponderous oaken doors in front. This building was used as a fire engine house. Adjoining this was a one story brick building, deeper than the first, having front and rear rooms, and was occupied by the paymaster. Beyond these two buildings, and extending down the Armory grounds to the west, were the manufacturing buildings.

Here, having its sources in the south-west, came the Shenandoah river. The formation of the ground was similar to that on the Potomac, but the plain was wider. Shenandoah street divided it, running from a point a mile from the south of the town to the initial point where the rivers join. This ground was well built up with business houses and dwellings. High street was also well built. The Winchester and Potomac Railroad

ran along the banks of the Shenandoah until it intersected the Baltimore and Ohio, where the tracks united and passed over the Potomac on a covered wood bridge. There was also a wagon road on this bridge. One hundred feet west of the juncture of the rivers on the banks



S. K. DONOVAN.

of the Potomac was erected a hotel known as the Wager House. Diagonally across from this hotel, at the side of the Winchester and Potomac Railroad, was a drinking saloon, named the "Galt House." Just at the limits of the corporation on the banks of the Shenandoah were the rifle works. Now I wish you to keep closely in mind

the little brick engine house just within the Armory yard — The Wager House, the Baltimore and Ohio platform, the drinking saloon diagonally across from the Wager House; and the rifle works on the banks of the Shenandoah river, for around these points the interest of my story shall cling.

In the spring of 1859, a man giving the name of Smith rented a worn out farm in the state of Maryland, four miles north and east of Harper's Ferry. The owner was glad of the tenant, and as his new renter paid cash in advance, asked no questions of his past or his future. A few days after this incident the man Smith, accompanied by two other men much younger than he, took possession of the premises. They brought no stock with them except a horse, nor did they purchase any implements of agriculture, except spades and picks and a one horse wagon. A few days after being in possession two of the men left the house, carrying picks and spades in their hands, with small canvas bags thrown over their shoulders. They proceeded to the mountain side and commenced to dig, carefully examining the earth which they threw up and occasionally dropping some of the substance into their canvas bags. Thus the day was spent, and thus many days following were spent.

The elderly man took the horse and wagon and proceeded to the east. He made several of these trips and was usually gone three days. On each return the wagon was laden with boxes about five feet in length, two feet wide and about twenty inches high. These boxes were carefully moved into the dwelling. As days went into weeks, the number of the occupants of the house increased, and the new comers spent their time, as did

those first there, apparently seeking for iron ore or some other metallic substance. Thus the summer passed, every week adding one or more to the occupants of the house, so that by the second week in October there were twenty-two persons, all males, inhabiting it.

At eleven o'clock on the night of the sixteenth day of October, 1859, being Sunday, an armed body of men crossed a bridge from the Maryland to the Virginia side, and took possession of Harper's Ferry. Citizens found on the streets at that hour were directed to go to their homes and remain there. Other citizens, officials at the Armory, or men prominent in civil affairs were waked from their slumbers and bade dress and accompany their captors. They were taken to the center of the Ferry and confined in the first government manufacturing building west of the paymaster's office. At midnight the Baltimore and Ohio express train came in from the west. When the conductor, Mr. A. J. Phelps, stepped from the train, armed men placed him under arrest. When the engineer stepped from his cab, he was also arrested together with his fireman. Conductor Phelps was very indignant and threatening when the man who, when he rented the farm, gave the name of Smith, now giving the name of Anderson, informed Captain Phelps that his life depended on his pacific behavior. Anderson assured him that no harm was intended either him or his fellow employees or his passengers so long as they were passive and obeyed orders, but if he, Phelps, attempted to move the train, it would cost him his life and the life of every man engaged in the attempt.

The train was held until after three o'clock A. M., when Anderson informed Conductor Phelps that he

could proceed with his train to the east. This the conductor refused to do, saying that he believed the timbers of the bridge had been tampered with and that the object was to precipitate his train into the Potomac. He would not move until he knew that the bridge was safe. "Go or stay at your pleasure," was the response of Anderson as he turned his back on the conductor. When day dawned, Conductor Phelps examined the bridge, and finding it unimpaired, proceeded east with his train. Reaching a telegraph station, he communicated with the Baltimore and Ohio officials. His fears more than his observation dictated his dispatches, for at no time had he seen more than five men, yet his dispatches stated that hundreds of men, white and black, were in arms, and that the valley was being given up to murder, plunder and fire.

The wildest consternation seized the people of Baltimore City. The militia was called out, preparations were made to go to the rescue. The authorities at Washington were receiving dispatches which were of a more definite character than those sent by Conductor Phelps, for the Secretary of War deemed that two companies of Marines, neither of which was a full one, were sufficient to quell this terrible insurrection. Accordingly he ordered them to proceed to the Ferry, under the command of Major W. W. Russell.

Baltimore City sent forward a contingent of her militia and other militia was expected to join the force at Monocacy Junction, near Frederick City. The entire military were under command of Lieut. Col. Robert E. Lee of the United States Army, and afterwards the noted rebel general.

As a correspondent of the *Daily Exchange* of Balti-

more, I accompanied the militia to the Ferry. Nothing of interest occurred on our trip. At every station exaggerations of the character of the raid and the number engaged in it were heard. We arrived at Sandy Hook about ten o'clock. The military then halted. I proceeded to the Ferry on foot. The first information I received was that every foot of the soil of Virginia was in the possession of Virginians except that little engine house in the armory yard. Instead of two thousand persons being engaged in the raid, which was the smallest number anyone would admit, there were less than one hundredth part of that number. There were only nineteen, and of these, about one-half had been killed, half the others had escaped, and the remainder were besieged in the little brick engine house.

I also learned further particulars of the raid. Twenty-two persons had gathered at the little farm house in Maryland. Three were left to guard the premises. Nineteen crossed the bridge. The chief of the raiders divided his forces into four squads: one squad, by way of High Street, was sent over to Bolivar Heights in the direction of Charlestown, the county seat, to secure some prominent persons as hostages, and to tender slaves their freedom, — another squad was sent to take possession of the rifle works on the banks of the Shenandoah, another squad was sent to the Maryland farm house to bring the contents of the boxes which the little wagon had brought from the east and which consisted of one hundred Sharpe's rifles, one hundred revolvers, about five hundred spears and fifteen hundred pikes, together with some fixed and loose ammunition.

About three o'clock A. M. the party which started over the heights returned, bringing with them Lewis W.

Washington and John H. Alstadt, two important citizens, as hostages, with a number of their slaves. The latter were offered their freedom, which they refused to accept, when together with their masters they were imprisoned in the little brick engine house just within the armory yard. On the termination of this incident, the chief of the raiders informed Conductor Phelps that he could proceed with his train.

The party sent into Maryland to bring forward the arms, became demoralized, a slave who had joined bringing them intelligence that the force which had been left in the Ferry had been overcome and killed. Three of this party returned by a circuitous route to the Ferry to find their friends still in possession. They, with two of the party which had returned from the expedition over the heights, were sent to the Maryland side with instructions to hold the mouth of the bridge.

That was the condition of affairs at day dawn on Monday morning, the 17th of October. Up to this time but one person had been killed. He was a negro man, named Hayward, slave of Fountaine Beckham, the station agent of the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad at the Ferry. As Mr. Beckham figures prominently in my story, I will tell you who he was. He was a man of middle age, of prominent family, kind and obliging to his friends, obsequious to his superiors, always haughty and frequently insolent to those he deemed his inferiors, whether they were white or whether they were black. The slave Hayward partook of all the bad qualities of his master, and possessed none of his virtues. He was six feet two inches in height, powerfully made and coal black in complexion. He gave the raiders more trouble than all the rest of the people of the Ferry. He refused

to obey orders and cursed them with fearful bitterness, exhausting all vile epithets. Just before the dawn of the day he slipped off his shoes and attempted to cross the bridge, for what purpose never will be known, but one of the raiders told me that it was for the purpose of gaining the Maryland side and giving information as to their number and condition. A raider secreted called a halt on him, which he not only refused to obey, but started to run. The raider fired and Hayward fell dead on the floor of the bridge.

With the dawn of day those residents of that part of the Ferry not controlled by the raiders commenced to alarm the surrounding country. Couriers were put on swift horses and sped in all directions, so that within two hours the whole of Jefferson and Berkley Counties were made acquainted with the fact of the raid. The greatest alarm seized the people. Everywhere there was a call to arms. Companies were organized in Charlestown and Martinsburgh, officered and forwarded to the Ferry. Adjacent Maryland was ablaze and military were forwarded from Frederick City. Besides the organized military, thousands of Virginians, armed with every kind of arms, except artillery, hastened to the redemption of the Ferry.

Amongst this unorganized mass was a gentleman named George W. Turner, a bachelor, who lived five miles south of Charlestown. His family was one of the oldest and wealthiest in the valley. He was a graduate of West Point, and had resigned his commission to enjoy the elegant patrimony to which he had fallen heir. The generation of his family which immediately preceded him had been fearfully scandalized by brutality to their slaves. They were noted for their cruelty, and it was

said that murder had been done their bondsmen. There was a well on the plantation that was known as the tainted well, of the waters of which no one would drink, for the reason that in its depths was hidden a great crime — a murdered slave laid there. When Mr. Turner heard of the raid he shouldered his rifle, mounted his horse and alone started for the Ferry. He paused in Charlestown long enough to have a confirmation of the story and then sped on to the Ferry. Reaching the point known as "Bolivar Heights" he dismounted and proceeded to the Ferry afoot. He came down over the hill on High Street, until he reached a point within a hundred yards of its intersection with Shenandoah Street where he observed a raider sentinel standing with rifle at rest. Mr. Turner raised his gun — took deliberate aim at the raider and fired. Notwithstanding he was a noted rifle shot, he missed his mark. He jumped on a porch which extended from a dwelling, where he reloaded, then stepped forth intent on doing more effective work. Just as he raised his gun to his shoulder there was the crack of a rifle and Mr. Turner fell dead in his tracks. He was the most noted Virginian killed. People who did not like him personally or who had ill-will towards his family were unkind enough to whisper that the tainted well had been avenged.

Before the arrival of the organized military, fighting had commenced between the citizens and the raiders. The raider who shot George W. Turner was killed. A musket ball had passed through his neck, tearing the jugular vein, and he fell to the pavement, bleeding to death almost instantly. His body was allowed to lie where it fell all that day and the following night, and the next day until near noon. Virginians of curious but

not chivalrous dispositions, after they got possession of that part of the Ferry where it laid, vented their spite on the hapless clay, some by spitting on it, others by spurning it with their feet and all anathematizing it, while some little pigs which were running loose rooted it to and fro, unconscious of the human indignities it was constantly suffering.

Distinct fights commenced for the several points held by the raiders. Virginians crossed the river above the Ferry to capture the Maryland side. Hundreds of Virginians attacked the rifle works. This building had been built with a view of securing plenty of light. The span between the windows was small. The attacking party commanded three sides of it, and from every sheltered position — from behind trees and huge boulders — thousands of shots were fired into the works. The raiders soon discovered that they were unable to hold it. Two of their number were severely wounded. They concluded to surrender, and to that end a flag of truce was shown, to which no attention was paid. The raiders vacated the building and started to the river, with the hope of fording it and reaching the mountains on the opposite side. The two wounded men were killed as quick as they were clear of the building. Two succeeded in reaching the river, but both were killed before they had gotten far into the stream. The fifth took shelter behind a large boulder where he was captured by a Virginian of courage and character. The great mob of armed men wanted to brutally murder him, but his captor protected him.

With the capture of the rifle works the Virginians swept down the Shenandoah side to the heart of the Ferry. They brought their prisoner, William W.

Thompson, with them and confined him in the parlor of the Wager House. They drove the raiders at that point to shelter in the engine house. They swept into the Virginia mouth of the bridge, driving the raiders out at the Maryland side. The Virginians who had been fighting for the bridge on the Maryland side had not been able to dislodge the raiders, but when they were forced out, short work was made of them. Three of them were almost instantly killed. A fourth one jumped into the waters of the Potomac and throwing up his hands, exclaimed, "Don't shoot, I surrender." The response to this appeal was a flash of fire from the muzzle of a musket in the hands of a Virginian not ten feet away, and the top of the head of the raider was blown off, his body fell into the stream and floated toward the sea. In this fight, Fountaine Beckham, the station agent, attracted by curiosity into the bridge, was struck with a stray ball and fatally wounded. He was carried into his office where he lingered several hours. The raiders held that Beckham was wounded by one of his Virginia friends, as, indeed the circumstances admit, but the Virginians claim that the shot was fired by a raider.

The chief of the raiders, learning that one of his men, William W. Thompson, was a prisoner in the Wager House, dispatched one of his command, Aaron Stephens, with a flag of truce, instructing him to seek some one in authority, and tender an exchange of one of his hostages for Thompson, but also said that if the Virginians refused an exchange of man for man that he should give all the hostages he held in return for Thompson. With his flag of truce in hand, Stephens left the engine house and proceeded towards the Wager House where Thompson was confined. When he

reached a point midway between the armory gate and the hotel, he felt the sting of a bullet, and heard the crack of a pistol. He raised a flag of truce above his head, and as he did so, he felt a second stinging sensation and heard another report of a pistol. He waved his flag, while he looked in vain for the source of the attack. Again he felt the sting of a bullet and as it struck him, he fell to the street in an apparently dying condition, still holding his flag of truce aloft. Parties came from the hotel and carried the wounded man into it, where he was placed on a bed and received surgical attention. He was shot from the window of the Galt House drinking saloon. Its proprietor was a gambler and desperate character named George Chambers. He had gained admittance to his saloon, and when he saw Stephens coming bearing the flag of truce, he stepped back into the centre of the room and resting his pistol on his arm thus (as I heard him describe it) fired through a broken pane of glass — played the barbarian and shot down a man who bore an emblem that even savages respect.

The organized militia was solidified and about five hundred strong it formed at the upper end of the Armory yard to make an assault on the little brick engine house, in which the remainder of the raiders were besieged. Led by Captain E. G. Alburtis, of Martinsburg, a courageous man, who had won a good reputation as a soldier in the Mexican war, with cheers and yells, such as became famous a few years after, they charged the government buildings. They succeeded in releasing the prisoners confined in the government building adjoining the paymaster's office, who had been placed there the night of the raid — but who were not at the time of the attack even guarded. Flushed with this success, the

militia reformed and started to assault the engine house. They never reached it; when within sixty yards of it the besieged opened with a destructive volley of bullets. Two of the attacking party fell dead and a half dozen were wounded. The column wavered, reeled, and then fled up the armory yard. Though Captain Alburtus did his utmost to rally them, he was unable to get them to renew the assault. The flower of Virginia had no stomach for the affair.

At this point, Fountaine Beckham, the station agent, died. His death frenzied the Virginians. They had possession of all the Ferry except the little engine house and the points it commanded. They thronged the Baltimore and Ohio platform and the adjacent streets. On the instant, a cry was raised, "Thompson must die." Thompson was the raider prisoner captured at the rifle works and confined in the parlor of the Wager House. The cry, "Thompson must die," was taken up and repeated by hundreds of tongues. The great angry mob swayed to and fro and then rushed for the parlor. On entering it the guard gave up their prisoner without a protest, but a woman, the daughter or sister of the landlord, threw herself between Thompson and the mob and declared that he should not be killed in her presence. She was violently thrust aside. The prisoner was seized by the throat and dragged out of the hotel upon the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad platform. The crowd of armed men at the upper part of the platform were called back. Then as bloody a murder as ever shocked civilization or shamed humanity was done. Henry Hunter, son of Andrew Hunter who prosecuted John Brown, and George Chambers, the gambler, took the prisoner by his shoulders and turning his face from them violently

pushed him forward. Scarcely was he clear of them, when dozens of guns were fired and William W. Thompson fell dead on the platform — assassinated. Not satisfied with this bloody work, they picked up the body and carrying it to the side of the platform, dropped it down into the waters of the Potomac. When it struck the stream there was a convulsive movement of the arms; the guns were again brought into play, and the contents of a dozen or more were emptied into the body. It floated down the Potomac until it reached a sand bar formed by one of the pins of the bridge, where it lodged. There it remained during the remainder of the day and night and until nearly noon of the following day, a target for the viciously cruel. The blood hungry mob was not satisfied with the murder of Thompson. The cry was raised "Stephens must die," and a rush was made for the room in which laid the wounded flag of truce bearer. Fortunately his physician, Dr. Starry, met them at the door, and prevented them from entering, declaring that the man was so near dead that their act would be that of killing a corpse. He succeeded in saving the wounded man.

On my arrival on Monday night I learned that Stephens was still living, and expressing a wish to see him, I was conducted to his room. As I entered in the corner to the right was a bed on which laid the wounded man. I was amazed at the wonderful perfection of his physique. He was unconscious and almost entirely naked. He appeared a man five feet ten, with broad, deep chest, and strong, sinewy limbs. His arms started with a swell at the shoulder and tapered to the ends of fingers on a hand as shapely as a woman ever bore. His head was large, brow broad but not high, — eyes set

wide apart, his nose prominent but not excessive, his mouth bow shaped, lips full, but not heavy, his chin strong and jaw massive. As I gazed in admiration at this wonderful physique, the door opened and a youth entered. He was tall and angular and about twenty years of age. He stepped to the front of the bed. He gazed at the wounded prisoner for a moment, when quick as a flash he drew a revolver and throwing it over the bed with the muzzle direct for Stephen's heart, he pulled the trigger, and the hammer fell. The cap refused to perform its office, and thus, by that fortunate accident, I was spared the sight of seeing the wounded man murdered in his bed. Before the young man had time to raise the hammer of the pistol again, the guard had him and he was violently thrust from the room.

I did not go to bed that night. Just about day dawn I heard the steady tramp of soldiers. The marines were entering the town. They marched into the armory yard and took position below the engine house near the manufacturing buildings. During the night several attempts had been made to secure the capitulation of the raiders. The chief would not listen to any terms except free access to the mountains, with their rifles in their hands, and their ammunition on their persons. This Colonel Lee would not grant but demanded an unconditional surrender. When it became certain that the engine house would have to be attacked, Colonel Lee tendered the honor of the assault to the Virginia militia. They took the proffer into consideration, and after more than an hour's consultation, declined it, saying that as they had friends confined as hostages, it would be a fearful thing if they became the slayers of these friends. And thus it was that to a handful of marines, most of

whom were of foreign birth, was given the honor of capturing the raiders.

Major Russell selected twenty-five marines, each of whom excepting two was armed with muskets with bayonets attached. The two unarmed bore sledges; one was a tall, powerfully built man; the other of medium size. The former stepped to the front, the marines assuming a position twenty feet to his rear. He raised his sledge and struck with his might, but the ponderous door did not yield the slightest. Again the sledge circled in the air and fell against the doors, but the blow had no effect. Major Russell then ordered the marines to lay their guns on the sward and pointed to a flag staff against which rested a forty-foot ladder. The marines hurried to the ladder and dividing on either side thereof seized its rungs, and making a ram of it rushed for the door. When it struck the doors quivered and trembled but did not yield. The marines retreated and came again with more force. At the second blow the doors partly yielded, and as they did so two shots were fired from the engine house. A marine, named Quinn, reeled from the right side of the ladder mortally wounded. Another reeled from the left wounded in the face but not mortally. Again the marines retreated and came with still greater force. The doors yielded and the ladder fell from their hands, lodging on the lower cross timber to which the upright boards were nailed. The first to enter the engine house was Major W. W. Russell. He entered with his sword drawn, the point to the ground, with his left arm upraised, index finger extended, and demanded a surrender. The chief ordered compliance and the guns of the raiders dropped to the floor. Following Major Russell came Lieutenant

Green of the U. S. Army, saber in hand. The first object he met was the chief raider, standing unarmed. Lieutenant Green struck him on his head with his saber. The blow tore the scalp loose, turning it over in a flap, but the old man did not fall. The Lieutenant struck the second blow and the old raider fell to the floor unconscious. Quick on the heels of Lieutenant Green came a marine, and, following the unsoldierly conduct of his superior officer, bayoneted the old man as he lay in his unconscious condition — once near the shoulder and again lower down, near the kidney.

The hostages were brought out and received with tumultuous cheers by the Virginians. These cheers turned to howls when the old raider was brought out and laid on the grass in front of the engine house. The Virginians on the Baltimore and Ohio Railway platform dropped their guns to the earth beneath them and swinging themselves into the tressel-work timbers, jumped to the ground. They rushed to where the old man was lying, surrounded by marines, and demanded his life. Major Russell ordered the wounded man to be carried into the rear room of the paymaster's office, to protect him from the infuriated mob. He was laid on the floor with a carriage cushion under his head. When he regained consciousness he recognized Major Russell who was standing at his side, and said:

"Young man, as you entered the engine house I had you covered with my rifle, and could have killed you, but your frank face and your true courage caused me to pause, and I spared your life." The Major threw his hand to his cap as he replied:

"I am deeply thankful to you for it."

The raider then said:

"For what I have done I am willing to answer before any proper tribunal, but I do not want to be torn to pieces by a mob."

"Neither shall you be, so long as I have a soldier to defend you," replied Major Russell.

At this point I stepped down at his side and said, "Who are you and what are you doing here?"

"I am John Brown. Better known to the public as 'Old Brown of Kansas' — Osawatomie Brown. I came here to free slaves and for no other purpose. Had I come to murder and plunder I could easily have accomplished my purpose, and escaped. I could have killed whomsoever I willed and could have laid the town in ashes. But such was not my purpose. I have not destroyed anything nor stolen aught, nor would I have killed anyone, had they not tried to kill me and my men."

After some further talk I left the old man and as I passed out of the front door of the office, to my right, seated on the grass and resting against the brick wall of the engine house, I saw a wounded man. The shadow of death rested on his face. I stepped to his side and asked:

"Who are you?"

"I am Oliver Brown. My brother, Watson Brown, lies dead in the engine house and the old man, wounded and dying, whom they carried into that office, is my father. I am here to free the poor slaves. For no other purpose I am dying. My only regret is that we were not more successful. But success will come. Others will carry on this fight."

John Brown was detained at Harper's Ferry for two days. He was visited by a number of distinguished

men. Governor Wise came up from Richmond. The Governor treated him with great respect. Wise was the most mortified man I ever saw. He made a speech, and while he did not call the Virginians cowards, he said that if he had been present, John Brown would have been captured without the aid of the United States marines. In a speech which he made in Richmond after his return from Harper's Ferry, he said that he would have given his right arm at the shoulder, if Virginians had captured Brown. In speaking of the latter, he said:

"Those who think Brown mad make a mistake. He is a bundle of the best nerves I ever saw, cut and thrust, bleeding and in bonds. He is a man of clear head, of courage, fortitude and simple ingeniousness. He is cool, collected and indomitable. It is but just to him to say that he was humane to his prisoners, as attested to me by Colonel Washington and Mr. Mills, and he inspired me with great trust in his integrity as a man of truth."

Among the first to call on him were two distinguished men well known in the country. One was James M. Mason, United States Senator from the State of Virginia and author of the fugitive slave act, an infamous law, the passage of which brought shame to the Nation, and indeed on humanity, and the other was Clement L. Vallandigham, of Ohio, then a hated proslavist and afterwards a noted opponent of the war to preserve the Union. These two persons thought that they saw in John Brown's raid the exposed point of a great conspiracy, which had its birth in the North and the object of which was the destruction of slavery by servile insurrection. They spent two hours questioning and requestioning the old raider, in a vain endeavor to

implicate prominent men in the North, who were well known abolitionists, with the raid.

Now, whether any man aided John Brown, by contributing money or arms to the expedition, or even sympathized with the movement, one thing is certain, the old raider compromised no living person. He took upon himself all the responsibility of his acts and met without fear and without equivocation every demand which the state of Virginia made upon him.

He was removed to the county jail in Charlestown, where for days he was besieged with visitors. He received all with kindness and civility and treated each with respect. He demanded the same treatment from them, and it was but seldom that he did not receive it. The dignity of his character, his conceded sincerity and his unquestioned physical and moral courage won from his bitterest enemies a consideration and respect, which a less honest or less courageous man could not have commanded. Even the imperious Senator Mason, who was a leading type of that offensive effrontery which characterized the slaveocracy, said when coming from his presence, "There is a man able to command the respect of any man."

John Brown was captured on the morning of the 18th day of October. On the morning of the 25th he was required to appear before an examining court. Having his rights in that particular, he was remanded to prison. On the morning of the 26th, he and his fellow captives were arraigned in the regular Criminal Court and required to plead to indictments. Weak and wounded he was scarcely able to walk from the jail to the Court Room. Stephens, the flag of truce bearer, who

had been barbarously shot down while he waved the emblem above his head, was unable to stand up while the charges were read. Two stalwart men, one under each shoulder, held him to his feet. After the charges had been read John Brown addressed the court, saying:

"I am surprised and indignant at the unseemly haste with which you seek my blood. I am not here to ask favors. I have asked none. But this professes to be a court of justice, and I think that the decencies and proprieties which should accompany the administration of law should be observed in this trial. I am severely wounded and physically unable to go to trial. The wounds on my head seriously affect my mind. I am unable to think consecutively for any length of time, while this wound near my kidneys gives me great pain. Besides, I am without counsel, though I have sent for them. Yet, if it is the intention of this court to indulge in a mockery and speedily make a fact out of a foregone conclusion, I ask that it spare itself the trouble and me the indignity."

His complaint received no attention. The trial was ordered to proceed and the court appointed Thomas G. Green and Lawson Botts, members of the Charlestown Bar, as counsel for the prisoners. The exertion of the morning greatly increased Captain Brown's suffering, and when the court called in the afternoon, he was not able to walk to the Court House. While lying on his cot, it was picked up and he was carried to the room of justice, and placed within the bar. The trial proceeded. But little trouble was experienced in selecting a jury. The question was not, as it is in this community, "Have you formed an opinion of the guilt or innocence of the prisoner at the bar?" The question put was — "If the

evidence shows that the prisoner at the bar is innocent of the charges, can you bring in a verdict in accordance with the evidence?" After the jury had been secured, court adjourned to the following morning, the 27th.

On the assembling of court on the 27th, John Brown was able to walk to the court room, but was not able to sit up. The cot was brought within the bar and the old wounded man stretched himself upon it. Lawson Botts, one of the attorneys assigned to him by the court, stated that he had received a communication from a man signing himself "A. H. Lewis" of Akron, Ohio, wherein was set forth the fact that a vein of insanity ran through a collateral branch of the Brown family, and named members thereof who had been consigned to insane asylums. He said that his client had no knowledge of this movement. At this point John Brown struggled from his cot and addressing the Court, said:

"I did not ask aid from my friends in Ohio. Least of all did I expect them to proffer such as that letter contains. I am not insane, nor have I ever been. My observation teaches me that insane people know more on all subjects than all the rest of the world. I am not of that opinion in regard to myself. I recognize my jeopardy and the necessity for aid in this my extremity, but I want none such as is offered. I reject with scorn any advantage which might accrue from such a plea."

Virginians generally had spoken of the old man as a crazy man — a madman. After that speech there was not a man in the room who believed he was insane.

The trial proceeded. Conductor Phelps, Lewis W. Washington, Master Armorer Mills and others were placed on the stand, and gave evidence strong, but without prejudice as to the acts of the raiders. On the fol-

lowing morning a scene was presented, one of the most remarkable I ever witnessed. Just after court called, a young, almost effeminate youth presented himself within the bar. He presented papers to the court stating that he was George H. Hoyt of Boston, a member of the bar of that city, and that he had come on to defend John Brown. He was of medium height, spare, with a fine cut face, on which rested a determined expression. After the court had examined the papers he turned to the clerk, "Swear in Mr. Hoyt as a practitioner in this court." From that time forward, with zeal and intense earnestness, with force and at times with eloquence, this youthful David largely aided in John Brown's defense. After the lapse of years, when the insolent and arrogant institution no longer exists, it is difficult to conceive the courage it required to perform this act, and to the generation which is unfamiliar with the terrible prejudice and hate which ruled that hour, it is impossible to have a clear conception of the nerve requisite for its performance.

Near the close of the day's session, John Brown complained of the counsel whom the court had assigned him, stating that memoranda which he had given them had received no attention and the witnesses which he had desired had not been summoned. At this point Messrs. Green and Botts withdrew from the case.

On the following day Samuel Chilton, of Washington City, and Hiram Griswold, of Ohio, presented themselves as counsel for John Brown. But it was now the sun-down of the scene. Before the day closed the evidence was all in and the arguments commenced. They were finished the next day, the 30th, and the jury retired. The court took a recess of three quarters of an

hour, at the expiration of which, the jury was ready to render its verdict, "Guilty as he stands indicted." Mr. Chilton made a motion for arrest of judgment. It was overruled. The prisoner was asked if he had anything to say why sentence should not be pronounced. Captain Brown made a brief address — wherein he reiterated the integrity of his purposes, and claimed that he had a right to free the slaves, no man having a right to hold another in bondage. He had no regrets for his conduct and was ready to meet his fate. He was then sentenced to be hung on the 2nd day of December following, a month and two days distant.

I visited John Brown frequently while he was in prison, and had many interesting talks with him. He was interesting on all subjects, but particularly so when talking of the slave. His heart ran out to him as a mighty river, and so full and complete were his expressions of love and tenderness for the slaves that I was unable to fully appreciate them. I have never seen a man who so loved his fellow, as did John Brown. He seemed imbued with that passion of which God Himself is the origin and embodiment, that love which was birthed anew in the manger at Bethlehem, and which was sealed forever to mankind on the heights of Calvary. It would take the night till dawn would quicken the eastern sky, were I to tell the pith of each of my interviews. Therefore I am compelled to describe only a few.

I entered his cell one morning, and found him reading the Bible. I remarked, "You are never without a companion." "No," he replied, "and the best of companions. This is the fountain of all truth and therefore the fountain of all comfort and joy. How wretched a

man must be who is destitute of a religious faith. To me he seems like a mariner in the frailest of barks on the most turbulent of seas — surrounded by arctic darkness and constant tempest — destitute of compass and chart — forever floating he knows not where — forever living, yet forever lost. This book contains the love of loves and the law of laws. Human contradictions of it are void, and should not be obeyed.”

On another occasion, after spending a sleepless night in an endeavor to grasp the motives which prompted and the effects which would follow his acts, I entered his cell and said: “I come to you this morning to ask you to give me your opinion as to what results will follow your acts at the Ferry and the atonement which you are to make for them.”

“I do not possess the gift of prophecy, and were I to give you my opinion it would no doubt only afford you amusement.”

“No,” I replied, “I did not come here to be amused. All the night I have been endeavoring to fathom the depths, but in my endeavor I became intellectually blind. Tell me where you think those waves which you have started will wash. On what shores will they break?”

He was seated while we talked. He rose and walked to the window, paused for a moment and then replied, “God alone knows on what shores they will break, but as for me I believe they will wipe away the last vestige of slavery in the United States. I and my fellow captives must die, but mark my prediction: our deaths will be the beginning of the end of slavery.”

Again on the occasion of a visit he said:

“The operations of God’s laws in their relations to states, governments and communities are general in

their character, but specific in their effects and results. Do not misunderstand me. Do not think that I disbelieve in special providences, for I believe in them but they find application to individuals and not as of old to governments and peoples. God's general laws, constantly working to the perfection of his designs, are inexorable. Their violation demands compensation and sooner or later they will have it. Slavery is a violation of God's laws. It is the Leviathan of all wrongs and the sum of all villainies, and the hour is near at hand when they who have enjoyed its fruits will be compelled to give compensation. God will equalize human sufferings. I am satisfied that he will not permit the abolishment of this great crime until suffering and sacrifice in kind has been made and endured by those who have reaped the benefits of the institution. The North and the South will each have to share in this suffering and sacrifice. Both are guilty. The North profited most in the inauguration of the infamy and has shared largely in the profits which have arisen from slave labor. Besides, by its unconcern and cowardice it has permitted the institution to grow and prosper until now it is arrogantly strong. Nothing but violence will wipe it out. It will go down in blood and carnage. There will be wailing and lamentations in a million of homes, and grief and sorrow will sit with every family in the land."

During the mighty struggle which so soon followed, I thought a thousand times of the prophecy of the old man in Charlestown jail, and never for one moment did I doubt as to the result. A few days before his execution I entered his cell with this remark, "How rapidly the time flies. I scarcely realize that a night has passed since I saw you." He smiled as he replied, "Do you

think the time goes rapidly? I do not. It seems a laggard. Were it not for a face I long to see, and some correspondence I wish to finish, I could wish the last hour were here. My work is all done except the final and most important act. I must die and while I do not go to the scaffold of my own accord, yet willingly do I do so, as I believe that my death is necessary to complete my work, and I am anxious to finish it."

Thirty years ago I was a youth — occupying a prominent position, and not without considerable pretensions. As I listened to that old man, I thought how utterly without aim was my life — how insignificant all my ambitions, and as I gazed on John Brown, he grew until he seemed a human cathedral, grand, massive and sublime.

Arrangements had been made for his wife to visit him. She arrived at the Ferry the afternoon preceding his execution. A squadron of cavalry escorted her to the Charlestown jail. She was conducted to the cell of her husband, where she remained four hours. I will not attempt to describe that interview. His jailer, Captain John Avis, attempted to give me a description of it, but failed for two reasons — one was that words were too poor to paint it and the other was that when he attempted his emotions overcame him, and he closed the effort in a burst of tears. I will not attempt it tonight. I leave to your imaginations to conceive how much love, how much sorrow and how much resignation were crowded into those four short hours. At the close of the interview Mrs. Brown was returned to Harper's Ferry, there to await the body of her husband.

The air on the second day of December was crisp and sharp, such as we have in this latitude in early

December, when the weather is fine. Early in the morning there were fleecy clouds shrouding the sun, but by ten o'clock these had dissipated and the sun shone brightly. John Brown dressed for execution when he rose from bed. About nine o'clock, bedizened with laces and cords and spangles, General Taliaferro, commandant of the three thousand Virginia uniformed militia, called at John Brown's cell. The old hero was engaged in writing. As he looked up and recognized the General, he said:

"What is the hour of execution?"

"Eleven o'clock," replied the General.

"I will have finished my correspondence before that hour," he replied as he resumed his pen.

Taliaferro stood for a moment and then turned on his heels and left the jail. He did not awe the old raider by his imposing presence and attitude.

At eleven o'clock a furniture wagon, with two horses attached, was drawn up in front of the jail. John Brown with Sheriff Campbell on one side and Jailer Avis on the other stepped from the jail. Unaided Captain Brown got into the wagon and took a seat on a box which contained his coffin. Jailer Avis sat at his side. On the driver's seat sat George W. Sadler, the undertaker, and Wells J. Hawks, Massachusetts man, resident of Charlestown, who thought it necessary that he should drive John Brown to his death, that he might attest his loyalty to southern institutions. The Charlestown cadets, under command of Captain W. W. Gallagher, formed around the wagon, and preceded by military and followed by military the line of march was taken up to the field of execution just beyond the town limits and to the south of it.

As Captain Brown filled his lungs with the crisp air he said to Mr. Sadler, "What a delicious atmosphere. It is very invigorating."

"Yes," replied Mr. Sadler. They reached a little knoll from which the open country could be seen.

"Why, Mr. Sadler, you have a lovely country surrounding you. I had no idea it was so lovely."

"Yes," replied Mr. Sadler.

Then the old man's eye caught the Blue Ridge Mountains. "Is the Blue Ridge always as beautiful as it is this morning?" he asked.

"Yes," replied Mr. Sadler, "always so on bright days. Captain Brown, you are more cheerful than I."

"Oh! yes, I should be."

And thus he proceeded to his death.

Reaching the field, he got from the wagon unaided and started for the steps of the scaffold. Of all the scenes in a life which has not been uneventful, that scene at the scaffold is most indelibly impressed upon my mind. Tonight, as on that cool December morning, nearly a generation ago, it stands distinctly before me. I see him as he places his foot on the first step. No bravado, but a calm mien and exquisite poise, step after step he takes, as though he were ascending the stairs in a gentleman friend's home to a chamber in which he was to rest. Reaching the top, he steps forward on the trap, glances at the thousands of soldiers by whom he is surrounded and turns to Jailer Avis with,

"Where are your citizens?"

"Citizens are not allowed to be present," the jailer replies.

"That is a great mistake — a grave mistake. Your citizens should have witnessed this scene."

He throws back his head and looks at the rope which dangles above him. Then his eyes catch the Blue Ridge and he turns almost around grasping its beautiful sweep up the valley. A touch on his shoulder calls his attention, and, as he faces, the sheriff whispers to him. The old man reaches up and removes his old black felt hat, laying it at his feet; then runs his fingers through his hair, and then his arms are pinioned, his limbs are bound, the rope is adjusted and the white cap is drawn over his face.

Then an order is given to the military and it commences to maneuver. Charging and retreating, flying off at the flank and falling back on the centre; ten minutes are occupied in this barbarian behavior, and all the while the old man stands on the death trap without a tremour. Jailer Avis becomes impatient and says to Captain Brown,

"Aren't you getting tired, Captain?"

"No, but I do not see the necessity for keeping me waiting so long."

The military settle. The sheriff approaches the old man and touches his hand with a handkerchief with the remark:

"Drop this when you are ready."

"Oh, no! I do not need that. I am always ready."

In a few seconds the trap is sprung, and in fifteen minutes John Brown's soul is with his God.

Here and there in the vast field of humanity a kindred spirit said "Amen" to his acts and "Amen" to his death, believing, as did John Brown, that his death was necessary to complete his work. But the great conservative mass pronounced him a radical and a fanatic. So has the conservative element in all ages and in all

climes denounced those who were the advance guard in the struggle for the elevation and amelioration of mankind, and so it will be until time shall be no more.

Thank God, history changes epitaphs. John Brown from the moment he was able to appreciate its enormity, hated human slavery. As he grew in years, its destruction absorbed his being and awakened all his energies. He studied its origin and its effects and familiarized himself with its terrible injustice and cruelties. With his mental vision he went back through the centuries. He saw a vast continent around which the father of history had thrown the mists of tradition. He saw a vast plain, pathless and trackless as the air, — he saw a valley which had teemed with fertility where Abraham had received his vision under the oak on the plains of Mamre; he saw the fields of Goshen in which a chosen people had slaved for centuries, and where deliverance had been secured by a human instrument guided and directed by God. He turned his mental eyes to the South; he saw the long ranges of mountains, whose snow capped summits pierced the ether, until they seemed to hold communication with the moon; he saw mighty rivers, with unknown source, rolling their freightless waters to the sea; he saw a black race of people in primitive simplicity — primitive innocence and primitive intelligence; he saw the civilization of an age which had just crowned itself with a refulgent burst of literature and philosophy, send its white winged messengers of commerce to the shores of that continent, and prompted by greed and avarice, tear the confiding blacks from their homes, to fill the holds of their vessels with living freight; he saw all the horrors of the middle passage; each morning he saw the hatches open, the

hooks descend, the dead of the night dragged forth, and their bodies, unshriven and unshrouded, cast into the deep, until the slaves track was paved with human bodies; he saw them landed on the shores of a continent which was virgin in its character, and to which the oppressed of Europe had recently fled, that they might enjoy liberty; he saw them sold into slavery; saw all the sufferings of more than two hundred years of bondage; heard the smack of every lash in the cruel hands of the master or still more cruel hands of the soul driver as it fell on the quivering flesh of the helpless victim; he saw them chained in dungeons; herded in shambles, sold from blocks; he saw them give the sweat of their faces—the strength of their muscles and sinews—the marrow of their bones and not infrequently the blood of their hearts in unrequited toils. His mental vision quit the past and peered into the future.

He saw his own captivity—the mocking of his trial, his own scaffold—heard the sounds of his own foot falls as he ascended its steps—witnessed his own sacrifice. He was startled with the sudden fruition of his hopes. The marvel of all the ages which time has birthed save ours passed before him; sounds fell on his ears he had never heard before—it was the tramp of serried hosts—they were coming from the East, and from the North and from the gigantic West. The implements of peace had been turned into those of war, and sword in hand the mighty hosts were carving their way to liberty and unshackled maturity, to hopes fulfilled. What mattered a life, sacrifice, if it bring to a downtrodden race all that he had dreamed and prayed for? Everything fell from him except the vision of

the future which he might pave the way for, that he might prove a stepping stone for a new life, a nobler existence. Wrapped in this vision the soul of the martyr, eager, glorified, passed on to the new country where are no race prejudices to overcome, no struggle for emancipation, but fraternity and equality for all.



JOHN BROWN.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

BY C. B. GALBREATH.

JOHN BROWN'S FRIENDS IN WASHINGTON.

The following letter to John Brown, Jr., which, so far as we know, has never before been published, states clearly whom the writer regarded as friends in Congress. This letter is now of historic interest only. Had it been published at the time it was written it would doubtless have created some commotion and have made trouble for some of the congressmen named. The letter is here reproduced literally:

ROCHESTER N. Y. 5th Feby, 1858.

DEAR SON JOHN

Since writing you yesterday I have thought of a way in which I feel quite confident you might raise for the secret service from \$500 to \$1000, provided I can get you at once to undertake [it]. I have *as I think* a number of valuable friends in Congress Mr. Giddings, Dr. Chaffee of Springfield, Gen John Dick of Meadville Pa, Mr. Sherman (of the investigating Committee) from Ohio, Mr. Burlingame from Mass. & last but *not least* our old friend Olin of Troy N Y. With all these gentlemen I am more or less acquainted. Mr. Olin treated me with the utmost respect, & kindness last Spring at Troy; & promised to do all in his power to assist me: but I was obliged to go off without seeing him again, as I expected. *You* know him well, & would meet a most cordial reception from him; & *through* him, & *others* you could get an introduction to all persons at Washington that you might *desire* an acquaintance *with*; might see and even feel the Lions; & perhaps form some *most valuable* connections. Mr. Burlingame *gave* me \$50, at Boston. *I will in the end meet* the expense; & you can *hardly fail*; to get enough for *that* while *there*. You would I have no doubt get at some good men

through Dr. Bailey of the National Era. You can say to our friends that I am out from Kansas for that express purpose. I think Mr. *Sherman & Giddings* will give You a good lift. Dr. Chaffee, & Mr. Dick if you undertake you must not be in *too* great haste. I want to get *good* Maps & State statistics of the different Southern States I *mean State Maps*: not too large; but large ones might a number of them be done up together. *Eli Thayer* is a particular friend: I did not think of him at first. I have no doubt he would hook on his team. You might find friends at W who would give you some that may be a little old: that would be n[e]arly as good [as] any; or *sell them for a trifle*. You should have a full list of every member of *either House*; or of *all others*; who might do any thing for you. I have *no doubt* but you would by *diligence & patient perseverance* fully succeed in rasing the wind: besides getting *wonderfully* posted up. Do not lisp my *plans or theories of any Kind*; other than by *mere hints*: to such *friends* as will first commit themselves. You can say we are as thor[ou]g[h] abolitionists as G. Smith. Write me at once whether you will undertake the job; & if so how soon you can go as I may want to see you first. You can say I am keeping still.

Yours as ever

J B

KANSAS UNITED STATES SENATORS ON JOHN BROWN.

Samuel C. Pomeroy was well acquainted with John Brown in Kansas and at times associated with him in the warfare against invaders from Missouri. When Brown was in prison at Charlestown, Pomeroy visited him and was very cordially welcomed. Afterward, when the raid at Harper's Ferry was investigated by committee of which Senator Mason of Virginia was chairman, Pomeroy was in the District of Columbia awaiting an opportunity to testify. In a letter he declared that if called upon he would defend John Brown's actions in Kansas regardless of what this might cost him politically. He defended Brown's act on the Pottawa-

tomie and declared that under the circumstances he fully approved it. "That one act," said he, "struck terror into the hearts of our enemies and gave us the dawning of success."

Pomeroy's open defense of John Brown does not appear to have cost him much politically, as he was afterwards twice elected United States Senator from Kansas.

Senator John J. Ingalls in a tribute to John Brown said:

"Already the great intellectual leaders of the movement for the abolition of slavery are dead. The student of the future will exhume their orations, arguments and state papers, as a part of the subterranean history of the epoch. The antiquarian will dig up their remains from the alluvial drift of the period, and construe their relations to the great events in which they were actors. But the three men of this era who will loom forever against the remotest horizon of time, as the pyramids above the voiceless desert, or mountain-peaks over the subordinate plains, are Abraham Lincoln, Ulysses S. Grant and old John Brown of Osawatomie."

STORY OF THE SONG, "JOHN BROWN'S BODY."

The *Western Pennsylvania Historical Magazine* for October, 1920, reproduces from *The Collector* for June, 1910, the following account by J. H. Jenkins of the origin of the song "John Brown's body lies moldering in the grave":

"In the spring of 1861 the Twelfth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry was stationed at Fort Warren, Boston Harbor. Among the number were four sergeants, Eldredge, Edgerley, John Brown and J. H. Jenkins, who constituted a male quartette, especial attention being given to those patriotic airs which were then stirring the hearts of the boys in blue. Among the favorite airs which seemed to have the right swing, was an old campmeeting tune, to the words of 'Come brothers, will you

meet us,' and to this tune we proposed to set martial words. The Virginia tragedy of John Brown was fresh in our minds, and was emphasized the more by the martial ardor of the little sergeant of the same name. He used to speak of 'marching on' in the spirit of his namesake, and so the first verse sprang into being spontaneously,

John Brown's body lies a moldering in the grave,
His soul goes marching on.

"The second verse applies entirely to Sergeant Brown. He was very short, and was the butt of many jokes from his comrades, when he appeared on parade with his knapsack strapped upon his back, overtopped by the neatly rolled regulation overcoat. He would answer back, 'Well, boys, I'll go marching on with the best of you.' So the second verse was added, 'John Brown's knapsack is strapped upon his back, His soul goes marching on.'

"The death of Col. Ellsworth at Alexandria gave rise to the third and fourth verses, his old Zouave company going under the soubriquet of 'The Pet Lambs,' while our abhorrence of the Rebellion found vent in our expressed desire to 'Hang Jeff Davis on a sour apple tree.'

"In this way the song with its five verses was put together, piecemeal, and when sung at night, in the barracks, became immensely popular.

"Every Saturday afternoon Gilmore's Band came down from the city to play for dress parade, accompanied by crowds of people in excursion steamers. One Saturday the quartette took P. S. Gilmore into one of the casemates, and sang the tune to him time and time again, while he played it on his coronet, and then noted the air in his band book. The next Saturday, when the regiment was at parade rest, the band started down the long front to the inspiring strains of 'John Brown,' then played by a band for the first time.

"When the regiment left Boston for Harper's Ferry, it stopped for dinner in City Hall Square, New York. After dinner the line was reformed for the march down Broadway to the Ferry. When the order 'Forward march' rang down the line, our band struck up our favorite tune, the regiment joined in the refrain, and their steady tramp was emphasized by the chorus from a thousand throats of 'Glory Hallelujah.' The song soon became a national one, while in the Army of the Potomac the 12th Mass. was known as the 'Hallelujah Regiment.'"

It is generally known that Julia Ward Howe wrote the *Battle Hymn of the Republic* to the measure of the John Brown song. She heard thousands of soldiers singing with great fervor their battle song and was profoundly impressed. At the suggestion of a friend that more appropriate words might be written for the music she composed her famous poem. The soldiers, however, to the end of the war clung to the words of the John Brown song.



OHIO STATE ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL
SOCIETY

REVIEWS, NOTES AND COMMENTS

BY THE EDITOR.

PRESTON B. PLUMB.

We have just received a copy of the *Life of Preston B. Plumb* from his son, A. H. Plumb of Emporia, Kansas. This biography is written by William E. Connelley, the well-known historian and Secretary of the Kansas Historical Society. It is an attractive volume and written in the characteristic style of Mr. Connelley at its best. It has the virtue of an authentic life history and the absorbing interest of a romance. The life of Plumb covers an important period. It deserves a place in every public library of Kansas and Ohio.

Preston B. Plumb was born at Berkshire, Delaware County, Ohio, October 12, 1837. He was the son of David and Hannah (Bierce) Plumb. The Plumbs trace their ancestry to Normandy. They are descended from Robertus Plumme. Preston Plumb attended the schools of his native village. Like other Ohio boys of his day he was brought up on the McGuffey readers. He was called "Bony" Plumb and this is the explanation of how he came to get the name:

"Near the old country schoolhouse where he went to school, in the long winters of Ohio, there was a considerable pond. Skating on the ice in this pond was one of the amusements of the pupils. One spring when the ice had melted somewhat and

was broken into blocks the boys made it the means of showing their reckless spirit, crossing the pond by jumping from one piece of ice to another. It was finally decided that the pond could not be again crossed in that way. Plumb declared that he could cross it once more. The boys said he could not do it — that no one could do it. He ran swiftly to the pond, and, by bounding lightly and quickly from block to block, crossed it. In the old McGuffey Third Reader, in use in the schools of that day, there is a picture of Bonaparte crossing the Alps to illustrate a lesson from *Scott's Life of Napoleon*. When Plumb sprang to the bank on the other side of the pond they exclaimed, 'Bonaparte has crossed the Alps!' From that time they called him 'Bony,' and he carried that name even to Kansas."

In 1843 David Plumb moved to a farm in Berlin Township, Delaware County, and in 1846 he went with his family to Marysville, Union County, Ohio. He was a wagon maker and young Preston assisted him in the shop. The boy desired to go to Kenyon College but his father was not financially able to send him. Finally an arrangement was made by which he was to work in the print shop of the college and thus earn his tuition and board. At that time the college published the *Western Episcopalian*, a periodical issued in the interest of the institution. In this office were also printed the catalogs and circular literature of the college. It is thought that he spent about three years at Kenyon. Connelley draws attention to the large number of distinguished men who have been students of that institution. In the list are Rutherford B. Hayes, President of the United States; Edwin M. Stanton, Secretary of War under President Lincoln; David Davis, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court, United States Senator from Illinois and acting Vice-president, 1881-83; Henry Winter Davis, Congressman from Maryland and famous anti-slavery advocate; David Turpie, United States Senator

from Indiana; Salmon P. Chase, Governor of Ohio, United States Senator, Secretary of the Treasury under Lincoln and Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States; William Walker, Chief of the Wyandot Indians and provisional governor of Nebraska Territory.

From college Plumb returned to Marysville and worked as compositor on the *Tribune* published there. His brother, Josephus Plumb, also worked on this paper. Later, in 1854, he and J. W. Dumble went to Xenia, Ohio, and established the *Xenia News*. The first issue of this paper bears the date of February 24, 1854. Though only seventeen years old at this time he was regarded as the administrative head of the new venture. He boarded with his partner and worked vigorously night and day to make the *News* a success. Here he came to know Coates Kinney, the poet whose reputation had already been established, William Dean Howells who was living with his father's family only about three miles distant, and Whitelaw Reid who was the obliging clerk in a store room under the office of the *News*. The newspaper venture of Plumb and Dumble was a success almost from the start. In 1856 the Dumble interest went to J. B. Liggett.

Plumb was opposed to slavery from childhood and was deeply interested in the struggle between the Pro-Slavery and Free State men of Kansas. The stories of the burning of Lawrence were a strong appeal to the young journalist. An address delivered at Xenia, June 14, 1856, by Marcus J. Parrott, a Free State man, describing conditions in Kansas so stirred young Plumb that he decided to go to that Territory and join those who were

struggling to make it a free state. He turned a deaf ear to the protests of friends and associates and started at once for Kansas. He proceeded by way of Cincinnati and St. Louis and arrived at Leavenworth, Kansas, on the 4th of July. On this journey he wrote a number of letters to the *News* describing the Border Ruffians that he met on their way to Kansas and declaring that he found conditions in that Territory even worse than he had anticipated. He afterward returned to Ohio, disposed of his newspaper interests and returned to Kansas with his father and the family. When Lawrence was preparing to resist the invaders the father and son met old John Brown and his men in that town. Afterwards young Plumb was associated with James Lane and other prominent Free State men. On a return east he made eloquent appeals in behalf of the Free State cause in Kansas and was instrumental in turning many emigrants to that Territory. He was captain of a company in Lane's liberating army. For a time he worked on the *Herald of Freedom* published at Lawrence. Later he settled at Emporia and established there the *Kansas News*. He was active in the organization of the Republican party in the Territory. He returned to Ohio and attended a law school in Cleveland in the winter of 1858-1859 and again in the winter of 1860-1861. Having completed his course he returned to Emporia and entered upon the practice of the law. In 1861 he was elected a member of the Kansas Legislature. He became Supreme Court reporter in 1862. His friend, Chief Justice Thomas Ewing, Jr., also from Ohio, became colonel of the 11th Kansas Regiment and resigned from the bench. On September 10, Preston B. Plumb

became captain of Company C of that regiment. He served with distinction through the Civil War and attained the rank of lieutenant colonel. He was again in the Legislature in 1867-1868 and was Speaker in the latter year. In 1876 he was elected United States senator and twice afterward re-elected. He died in 1891 before the close of his third term.

His life history, as presented by Connelley in this volume, is an inspiration to every healthy, ambitious American boy who desires to rise through his own effort to honorable distinction in the service of his country.

COLONEL S. K. DONAVAN.

Colonel Simpson K. Donavan was born at Shippensburg, Pennsylvania, in March, 1831, and died after a brief illness in Columbus August 12, 1902. His parents were from Virginia and sympathized with the people of their native state and the institution of slavery. He early learned the printing trade, afterwards taught school for a time and then entered upon a journalistic career in the city of Baltimore. He was there at the time of the John Brown raid at Harper's Ferry. In conversation with the writer a few years before his death he said in substance:

"I was the first correspondent on the ground after the raid at Harper's Ferry began. I went there in thorough sympathy with the attitude of the people of Virginia and Maryland in their hostility to the raiders. I was startled at the news of the attack and puzzled at the mystery which for a time clouded its purpose. Soon after the capture of the engine house I learned from the lips of John Brown that it was a movement against the institution of slavery.

"I was in Harper's Ferry until the prisoners were moved to Charlestown and from that place I reported the news for my

paper until after the execution of John Brown. I attempted, as in all my reportorial work, to give an account of what occurred from time to time without bias or comment. Finally I noticed that my reports were not published in full and some of them were materially changed. On my return to Baltimore one evening I asked why this was done. The answer was to the effect that it was not to the interest of the paper to publish some of the material that I sent in. I insisted that I had simply reported the facts. I was told that this was probably true from my point of view but that my communications bore evidence of sympathy with the prisoners at Charlestown. I was disposed to deny this somewhat vigorously but upon a little reflection I concluded that the publishers of my paper were correct and said very little in reply to the charge. I was afterwards somewhat careful not to invite a repetition of this experience, but my sympathy with John Brown grew until the day of his execution. When he ascended the scaffold I was a John Brown man."

In the Civil War when Carlisle, Pennsylvania, was threatened by the Confederates, Colonel Donovan was placed in the command of a regiment of Pennsylvania troops and thus received his military title. In 1868 he came to Delaware, Ohio, which he afterward considered his home. For about twenty years he spent most of his time in Columbus in newspaper work. For a time he was engaged in insurance business but drifted into politics and became prominent in the councils of the Democratic party. He was an assistant sergeant-at-arms in the national House of Representatives. In 1883 he became editor of the *Columbus Times*. Later he contributed to the *Cincinnati Enquirer* and to the end of his life was a close personal friend of John R. McLean, the proprietor of that paper. He was the author of a book, *Led in Strange Paths*. For the last twenty-five years of his life he had a large circle of acquaintances and friends in Ohio. He is survived by his sister, Miss Sallie Donovan of Delaware, Ohio.

INDIANA'S GOLD STAR HONOR ROLL.

Of all the publications that have come to our notice devoted to the service of American soldiers in the World War, none is more attractive and appropriate than the *Gold Star Honor Roll* recently published by the Indiana Historical Commission. This book includes photographs and biographies of more than three thousand Indiana soldiers who died in the World War. Almost every brief biography is accompanied by a portrait. The work is well executed and attractively and substantially bound. Extensive correspondence and careful editorial work were necessary in its production. It is in every way highly creditable to the Indiana Commission.

Fortunately the State of Indiana had made provision for the Historical Commission before we entered the World War. On March 8, 1915, a law was enacted creating the Indiana Historical Commission and providing for the collection and publication of documentary and other material on the history of Indiana. The law also provided for the printing and binding of such publications at the expense of the state. The Commission promptly organized and systematically collected everything relating to the participation of that state in the World War.

It is unfortunate that other states were not similarly prepared for collecting the materials of their history through the war. In Ohio no steps had been taken in this direction until February, 1918, and no appropriations were available for support until July first of the following year. Professor A. M. Schlesinger, however, took great interest in this work and chiefly through

his voluntary service and the assistance of the regular employees of the Society a mass of valuable material was collected. This consists chiefly of local newspapers from which clippings have been made, indexed and bound. When the General Assembly finally acted it made only meager appropriations for the work. At its last session no provision was made for the Commission but the work has been continued by the Society. It should collect material for a memorial volume similar to the one published by Indiana. Of course it would now be next to impossible to get photographs for each Ohio soldier who lost his life in the war, but much valuable biographical material could still be collected for such a publication. Just what provision will ultimately be made for the surviving soldiers of the World War is yet to be determined, but there can be no question in regard to the lasting debt of gratitude that the state owes to those who made the supreme sacrifice in answer to the call of the Republic. Our soldiers who won the gold star in the hospitals and on the battlefield should be honored by a fitting permanent record in the archives of the Buckeye State.

UNDER THE ADMINISTRATIVE CODE.

The reorganization of the departments of the state government for which provision was made at the last session of the General Assembly assigns the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society to the Department of Education. Before this transfer could be made, however, certain action had to be taken by the Society through its Board of Trustees. A special meeting was called for this purpose for June 29th. At this meeting

President Campbell announced that it would be in order to offer a resolution expressing the desire of the Trustees to comply with the requirement of the new administrative code, which makes it possible for the Society to operate as a branch of the educational department of the state. In compliance with this suggestion Professor B. F. Prince offered the following resolution:

WHEREAS, An act approved by the Governor and filed in the office of the Secretary of State April 26, 1921, establishing an "administrative code for the state" makes the following provisions in section 154-55 of said act: "The director of education shall be a member of the board of trustees of the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society, in addition to the members constituting such board under the other laws and regulations pertaining to the membership thereof. No moneys appropriated for the use or support of the Ohio Archæological and Historical Society shall be withdrawn from the state treasury for such use until the board of trustees of said society, as constituted when this section takes effect, shall consent to the provisions hereof and file duplicate certificates of such consent in the offices of the Secretary of State and the Auditor of State," and

WHEREAS, It is the desire of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society through its board of trustees to carry out fully the provisions of this section, in the belief that the work of the Society, which is distinctly educational in character, may be materially aided and advanced by closer relations with the department of education and its different administrative agencies, as provided in the "administrative code," therefore,

Be it resolved, That the board of trustees of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society consent to the provisions of said act as expressed in section 154-55 and hereby place on record the assurance that they will comply fully and cordially with said act so far as it applies to said society.

Be it further resolved, That the secretary of the Society is hereby directed to furnish to the Secretary of State and the Auditor of State each duplicate copies of this resolution duly signed by the president and secretary of the Society.

The resolution was unanimously adopted and copies of the same have been duly filed with the Secretary of State and the Auditor of State. It will be seen that this

action makes very little change in the status of the Society, while it offers large opportunities for co-operation with the various branches of the Department of Education. The Superintendent of Public Instruction now becomes ex-officio a member of our Board of Trustees.

ADDITIONAL COMPENSATION FOR SOLDIERS OF THE WORLD WAR

A constitutional amendment providing "for issuing bonds for adjusted compensation for service in the World War" was submitted by our General Assembly at its recent session to the electors of Ohio. It will be voted upon at the coming election in November.

Briefly stated this amendment provides for raising the bond limitation under the constitution of Ohio and would authorize the General Assembly to provide for the issue of bonds to the amount of twenty-five million dollars (\$25,000,000). A board of "Commissioners of the Sinking Fund" is authorized to sell bonds to this amount, bearing interest at not to exceed $5\frac{1}{2}\%$ per annum, and to administer the proceeds of the sale of such bonds as additional compensation to World War soldiers for the period of their active service at the rate of ten dollars (\$10) a month, the aggregate not to exceed in any one case two hundred and fifty dollars (\$250). The bonds are to mature in twenty equal semi-annual installments, commencing not later than the first day of April, 1923. No officer with rank above captain is to receive any payment from this fund.

A number of states have already provided additional cash compensation for honorably discharged

veterans of the World War. According to the best information at hand the list of states making such provision is as follows: Maine, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Oregon, Rhode Island, Washington, Wisconsin.

South Dakota has authorized a cash bonus which must be applied to the purchase of a home or for educational purposes.

The following states, by legislative enactment, have provided special educational aid for returned soldiers: Colorado, Illinois, Iowa, Minnesota, New York, North Dakota, Oregon, South Dakota, Utah, Wisconsin.

Connecticut and Wisconsin have enacted laws providing relief funds for soldiers.

In certain states the question of additional compensation has been submitted to a referendum vote with the following results:

	<i>For</i>	<i>Against</i>
Maine	105,712.....	32,820
Michigan	471,159.....	185,602
Missouri	210,238.....	100,131
New Jersey.....	534,532.....	165,555
New York.....	1,454,940.....	673,292
Oregon	88,219.....	37,866
Rhode Island.....	10,535.....	1,303
South Dakota.....	93,459.....	56,366
Washington	224,350.....	88,128
Wisconsin	165,762.....	57,324

These figures have been carefully compiled by the Editor of the *QUARTERLY*, after considerable correspondence, from what are considered strictly reliable sources.

The amount of money provided in the different states for additional compensation to World War veterans varies from \$2,500,000 in Rhode Island to \$45,000,000 in New York.

TABLET FOR CAMPUS MARTIUS

The Ohio Daughters of the American Revolution will have placed upon the old Campus Martius house at Marietta a tablet marking this as an important historic point in our state. It will be unveiled Wednesday, September 28, 1921. Dr. Edwin Earl Sparks of State College, Pennsylvania, will make the formal historic address on this occasion. The State Chairman of Historic Spots, Mrs. Eugene G. Kennedy of Dayton, Ohio, on behalf of the Daughters of the American Revolution, will present this tablet which will be accepted by Governor James E. Campbell, President of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society.

The Legislature at its regular session in 1917 passed an act providing for the purchase of the Campus Martius property and appropriated for that purpose \$16,000. Since that time no money has been provided for the repair and maintenance of this property. From a sum of money given by Miss Minerva T. Nye for this purpose, arrangements have recently been made for the erection of a retaining wall for the Campus Martius lot of ground and it is hoped that this much needed improvement will soon be completed.

The Campus Martius site is a most important one. Here the Ordinance of 1787 went formally into effect July 15, 1788, with the inauguration of Arthur St. Clair, the first governor of the Northwest Territory.

The citizens of Bucyrus will observe the centennial of the founding of their city on October 4, 1921. An interesting program has already been arranged, beginning with a union meeting of all the churches of Bucyrus on October 3rd and extending over the two days following. In a later issue of the *QUARTERLY* we hope to give an account of these centennial exercises.

The date of the annual meeting of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society has been tentatively fixed for October 12, 1921. Formal notices will be sent to the members of the Society in due time announcing definitely the date and the program of exercises.



ANTI-SLAVERY MOVEMENT IN COLUMBIANA COUNTY.

BY C. B. GALBREATH

A study of the early anti-slavery movement in Ohio at this late day occasions many surprises. It seems that the first participants came from the South, a number arriving before the state was admitted into the Union. The famous Ordinance of 1787 prohibited slavery in the Northwest Territory. The states carved out of it were thus from the beginning dedicated to freedom. While the Ordinance contained a provision for the return of slaves to their masters in other states, this did not prevent the free soil north of the Ohio River from becoming a haven and a refuge for slaves seeking freedom from bondage or masters convicted by conscience.

As early as 1796, William Dunlop left Fayette County, Kentucky, and settled in Brown County, Ohio (then in the Northwest Territory). He brought a large number of slaves with him, set them free and "established them on land about Ripley." Many others did likewise. Among the number was Dr. Alexander Campbell, who came from Kentucky in 1803, liberated his slaves, advocated immediate abolition, served in the Legislature of Ohio, represented the state in the United States Senate and in 1835 stood at the head of the list of vice-presidents of the Ohio Anti-Slavery Society. Thomas Morris, member of the Legislature, Judge and United States Senator, came from Virginia to what is

now Ohio in 1795 and resided in Clermont County from 1800 till his death in 1857. Though not a slaveholder, like many other men from the southern states, he came to free territory in order that he might entertain and freely express his opposition to slavery. Thomas Kirker, member of the Legislature and afterward acting governor of Ohio, came to the state from Kentucky because of his opposition to slavery. A comparatively large number of ministers of the gospel, chiefly of the Presbyterian and Baptist faith, came early from the slave states to counties on the southern border of Ohio in order that they might freely bear testimony against the "peculiar system" of the South.

Pre-eminent among the anti-slavery advocates from the South was James G. Birney, born in Kentucky, February 4, 1792, a graduate of Princeton, a scholar and an eminent lawyer, who manumitted his slaves, became a candidate of the Liberty Party for President in 1840 and again in 1844. His son, General William Birney, in his biography of his father, *James G. Birney and His Times*, dwells upon the contribution of the South to anti-slavery leadership and gives illuminating information upon the early movement in Ohio. His purpose, as he freely admits, is to show that undue credit has been given to William Lloyd Garrison for the overthrow of the slave power in the United States. This lays his book open to the charge of *ex parte* testimony, but for all that it reveals the fact that much of the early opposition to slavery on Ohio soil was of southern origin, transported across the Ohio River from the land of bondage.

The Quaker testimony against the institution of slavery is too well known to call for extended notice

here. The "Society of Friends" were among the earliest settlers of Ohio and wherever they made their homes their anti-slavery views found expression. They came in large numbers to eastern Ohio early in the last century and settled in the counties of Belmont, Jefferson and Columbiana. On September 12, 1817, Charles Osborn, a Quaker preacher from Tennessee, published the first issue of the *Philanthropist* at Mt. Pleasant, Ohio, the first anti-slavery paper published in America. The second issue of this paper, bearing date, "ninth month 19th 1817" has recently come into the possession of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society. This is the earliest issue now known to be in existence. In 1815, Benjamin Lundy, a pioneer Quaker anti-slavery advocate, organized at St. Clairsville, Belmont County, "The Union Humane Society," which soon acquired a membership of "nearly five hundred." On the establishment of the *Philanthropist*, Lundy became a local agent and active supporter. Later he left Ohio and was for some time in St. Louis, Missouri. In 1821, he returned to Mt. Pleasant and established the *Genius of Universal Emancipation*. This was afterward published at Jonesboro, Tennessee and Baltimore, Maryland. At this time mob violence and the suppression of free speech had not made their advent in the South.

The seeds sown in eastern Ohio continued to bear fruit. Lundy's paper was generally read among the Quakers and the anti-slavery societies that they inaugu-

* Some confusion has resulted from the claim by Oliver P. Temple, in his *East Tennessee and the Civil War*, that the first "out-and-out" emancipation paper was published at Jonesborough in East Tennessee in the year 1819. The name of this paper was *Manumission Intelligence*. It may be true that the paper published there was more radical than the early issues of the *Philanthropist*, but it in no way disproves the claim that the latter was the first anti-slavery newspaper published in America.

The Philanthropist.

Published Weekly

By Charles Osborn.

MOUNT PLEASANT,—OHIO.

SIXTH-DAY, NINTH MONTH 19th.

AGENTS FOR THE PHILANTHROPIST.

The following persons will please receive monies and subscriptions for the Philanthropist.

OHIO.

Smithfield—Wm. Blackstone.

Flushing—Amos Garretson.

Belmont—Joseph Wright.

Zanesville—Jesse Gause.

St. Clairsville—Benjamin Lundy.

Barnesville—Camm Thomas.

New-Lisbon—Benjamin Hanna.

Fairfield—William Heald.

Salem—John Street.

Richmond—A. Farquahar.

Cincinnati—Jesse Embree.

THE PHILANTHROPIST

The above is a facsimile of the head of the editorial column of the second issue (Vol. I, No. 2, September 19, 1817). The original is in the library of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society.

Benjamin Lundy was the pioneer anti-slavery leader in America; Benjamin Hanna was the grandfather of Senator Marcus A. Hanna.

rated continued to grow in numbers and membership. On December 12, 1826, New Lisbon, now Lisbon, held the first recorded meeting in the interest of the anti-slavery cause in Columbiana County. The Columbiana Abolition Society was organized January 6, 1827, at New Lisbon. It announced as its guiding principle, "abolition, without condition or qualification." In a short time it had a membership of more than five hundred. Colonization was then put forward as the most practical way of abolishing the evils of the slave system. A committee of five was appointed to prepare an address to the people. This was later published in the *Ohio Patriot* and contained the announcement that "the two millions then held as slaves would become ten millions in the succeeding half century." In the following year Benjamin Lundy delivered an address at the court house in New Lisbon. He had great influence, especially with the membership of the Society of Friends, with whom he was a frequent visitor and in whose homes his paper circulated freely.

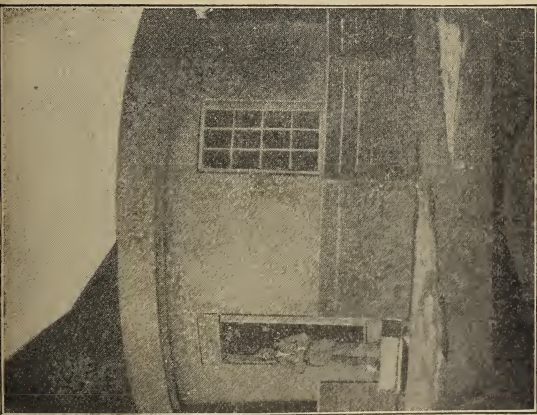
On March 15, 1832, John Frost published the first issue of the *Aurora* in New Lisbon. In his salutatory* he announced that the paper would be non-partisan and opposed to Masonry. He said nothing about slavery or temperance. It was a four-page, twenty-column sheet, of which about nineteen columns were made up of clippings from other papers. One of these extracts dwelt upon the evils resulting from the use of intoxicating liquors. Later this paper became a temperance organ and a vigorous opponent of slavery. It published proceedings of anti-slavery meetings, addresses and com-

* In order that this salutatory may be preserved it is published in full on page 393. Only one copy of this issue is known to exist.

munications that otherwise would not have reached the people and become matters of permanent record. The descendents of Mr. Frost still have volumes of the files of his paper, but only a few of the earlier issues are known to exist.

The *Aurora*, as indicated in the files from 1838 to the suspension of publication, was eminently a newspaper on the three reforms advocated and its columns were more and more devoted to the anti-slavery cause. It gives a view of the progress of that cause in different parts of the country in extracts from numerous papers and records in extended detail for that early day the proceedings of local meetings, communications from correspondents and whatever might be sought by those interested in the movement. It must have been, when published, a distinct influence for the promotion of the chief reform that it advocated. As a record of the progress of the anti-slavery movement in Columbiana County and eastern Ohio the remaining files of the paper have historic value and it is a source of regret that nearly all of the issues of the earlier years have disappeared.

The year 1835 is an important one in the anti-slavery calendar of Ohio. Early in the year previous occurred the anti-slavery upheaval in Lane Theological Seminary at Cincinnati. A colonization society had been organized there with the sanction of the faculty and the evident approval of the patrons of the seminary. The organization of the American Anti-Slavery Society and the progress of sentiment favorable to immediate emancipation influenced the young candidates for the ministry to form an abolition society. All were drawn into the movement including sons of slaveholders and others



OFFICE OF THE AURORA
See page 392.



JOHN FROST,
Editor of the *Aurora*.
See page 392.

from the South who had been reared under pro-slavery influences. Dr. Lyman Beecher, the eminent divine, father of Henry Ward Beecher and Harriet Beecher Stowe, was at that time president of the institution. In his absence the trustees passed resolutions suppressing the colonization society and the abolition society in the seminary. The young divinity students refused to submit. They were soon afterward presented the alternative of giving up the society or leaving the institution. About seventy of the one hundred and ten students withdrew. They pursued their studies for a time in another building under different professors and later were admitted to the newly organized department of theology in Oberlin College.*

Among the students who left Lane Theological Seminary was Marius R. Robinson, destined to become a leader in the anti-slavery movement of Columbiana County.

In April, 1835, the first state anti-slavery convention in Ohio was held at Putnam, a suburb of Zanesville. Its sessions began at 2 o'clock in the afternoon of Wednesday, April 22, and continued till noon the following Friday. The printed official proceedings are now rare. The copy owned by one of the most active members, Theodore D. Weld, with his autograph and a few marginal corrections, is still preserved. It bears the names of many of the leaders in the cause. Among them were James G. Birney of Dansville, Kentucky, and James A. Thome of Augusta, Kentucky, who by vote of the convention were made "corresponding members" and accorded the privilege of participation in the proceedings.

* See "Oberlin's Part in the Anti-slavery Conflict," *Quarterly*, V. 22, pp. 270-275.

Colonel Robert Stewart, of Ross County, was chosen president of the convention; Elizur Wright, of Portage County, was first vice-president. At the head of the list of vice-presidents of the newly formed society was Alexander Campbell, of Brown County, although he does not appear to have been in attendance. Theodore D. Weld, the great orator of the movement at that time, was a very active member from Hamilton County, as were also the eminent divine, Horace Bushnell, Augustus Wattles* and Henry B. Stanton, afterward the husband of Elizabeth Cady Stanton. One of the two members from Brown County was Rev. John Rankin† who figured in the rescue of Eliza, the heroine of *Uncle Tom's Cabin*.

The members from Columbiana County were Joseph Bailey, Nathan Galbreath and James Hambleton. Galbreath was made a vice-president of the Ohio Anti-slavery Society and Hambleton one of its managers. The name of Marius R. Robinson is attached to a report on the "condition of the colored people of Cincinnati," but he was not present at the convention.

* Augustus Wattles was born in Goshen, Connecticut, August 25, 1807. He moved to Ohio in 1833, locating in Cincinnati where he at once became active in the anti-slavery cause. In the spring of 1855 he went to Kansas, settled near Lawrence and for a time was editor of the *Herald of Freedom*. In 1857 he moved to a farm in Linn County, Kansas, on which he lived until his death, December 19, 1876. He was an intimate friend of John Brown in Kansas and became so obnoxious to the pro-slavery party that a reward of \$1,000 is said to have been offered for his head. In company with Thomas Wentworth Higginson and Colonel Montgomery he was active in planning for the liberation of John Brown from the jail at Charlestown. For particulars of this plan see *Kansas Historical Collections*, Vol. 8, p. 213.

† Rev. John Rankin was born in Jefferson County, Tennessee, February 4, 1793. As early as 1814 he was actively engaged in organizing against slavery. About the year 1821 he came to Ripley, Ohio. Through the succeeding years of his long and eventful life he was a consistent opponent of slavery. Eight of his sons and one grandson fought for the North in the Civil War. He died in Ironton, Ohio, March 18, 1886.

Mr. Robinson was ordained to the ministry at Jamestown, New York, in the spring of 1836. Soon afterward he returned to Cincinnati where he addressed congregations and public meetings on the subject of slavery. In August of that year he was appointed lecturer of the American Anti-slavery Society for middle and northern Ohio. This took him into Columbiana County where an active interest in the cause he was advocating had already developed. On June 1, 1837, he went to Berlin Center, Mahoning County (then Trumbull County) to deliver an address. Churches and the school buildings were closed to him. His statement of his effort to be heard and the indignities that he suffered at the hands of a mob indicates the spirit of the times in northeastern Ohio. His account was published in the *Aurora* of June 15, 1837, and it is here reproduced as found in *A Souvenir History of Ye Old Town of Salem, 1806-1906*. His communication, written at the Quaker village of Gillford, Columbiana County, was addressed to the editor of the *Aurora* as follows:

"MR. FROST: At the request of a number of my fellow-citizens, I send you some of the particulars of a recent gross violation of my rights, in common with those of my fellow-citizens. * * * I shall give a simple narrative of facts, for some of the indignities offered me were of too gross and brutal a character to be thus publicly detailed. In giving this narrative I am actuated by no spirit of resentment, but of unfeigned sorrow for the deep-rooted and widely extended influence of the spirit of slavery among my countrymen, and a strong desire that all may see their danger, and, rising in the vigor of Christian manhood, may remove the cause, by the unceasing proclamation of the great doctrines of universal love.

"On Thursday, the 1st of the present month, I visited Berlin, in Trumbull county (now a part of Mahoning county), for the purpose of discussing the subject of American slavery. Notice was circulated that on the following day there would be a lecture. Application was made to Joseph Holt, Esq., a trustee of the school district, and one of the oldest and most

influential citizens of the place, for the use of the schoolhouse. This was refused. Jesse Garretson, a highly respectable merchant of Berlin, at whose house I was welcomed with the warmest of cordiality, opened his dwelling for the lecture. Esq. Holt informed him that if the meeting was held the inevitable result would be a mob. The meeting, however, passed off without a verification of the prediction, and another meeting was appointed to be held on the following day of the week, when I purposed to vindicate the Bible from the charge of supporting slavery. On Saturday there were some buzzings of disapprobation, because we had presumed to have a meeting in opposition to the well-known wishes of the nobility of Berlin. But they were not such as to create in my mind any apprehension of violence. But the result showed that Esq. Holt could penetrate the future with more certainty than myself. About 10 o'clock at night Mordecai B. Hughes entered the store of Garretson & Hoover, where I was sitting in conversation with J. F. Powers, Jesse Garretson and his wife, and having seized me by the arm proceeded to drag me toward the door, at the same time saying, 'You have got to leave town tonight. You have disturbed the peace of our citizens long enough.' Mrs. Garretson interfered, saying: 'If you take him, you must take me too'; and about the same time a second ruffian, who entered just after Hughes, seized me by the other arm for the purpose of dragging me out, while Mrs. Garretson made an effort to close the door and shut out the remainder of the gang. But this was prevented by those without, who now joined in the effort for my abduction; but for several minutes these were rendered unavailing, by the vigor and firmness of my friends, Mr. and Mrs. Garretson. During the struggle Hughes demanded of Mr. Garretson that he should dismiss me from his house. This was refused. They then pressed on with new vigor. They were requested to stop and reason the matter. 'No reason here' was the reply; and so, indeed, we found it. Brute force was the order of the day, and it was exercised without respect of persons upon all who opposed, as was strikingly manifested in the treatment these chivalrous advocates of slavery were pleased to deal out to Mrs. Garretson in their zeal for the peace of the neighborhood. Hughes, who seemed to be dictator for the occasion, ordered her to desist; assured her that she was 'acting very imprudently'; that he 'would remember her for this; and once pushed her with some violence. Mrs. Garretson also received two blows, one on her arm, which sprained her wrist, and another on her breast which has since occasioned considerable pain and soreness. But notwithstanding their commands, threats and blows, she continued unremit-

tingly her efforts, until they had secured their prey by dragging me into the street. The spirit with which the attack was made may be learned by the following fact: A citizen from Berlin, in conversation with two of the rioters, asked them how they would have felt had there been a corpse found in the store the next morning. One of them, William Ripley, Jr., a merchant of the place, replied, 'We went prepared to take him, let the consequences be what they would.'

"After getting me into the street, they hurried me along with violence and rapidity, a mile or perhaps more — cursing, taunting, threatening as they went. I was dragged along by three men, one holding me by each wrist, another holding me by the collar. This last, who seemed to be more of a savage than the rest, frequently jerked me with violence towards him, and would then thrust his fist violently against my breast; and once he struck me on the head. Hughes remonstrated against their hurting me, and they desisted from this species of violence. One started for a rail, but this measure was decided against. But in the infliction of tar and feathers they seemed to coincide. After the delay of some half hour or more for the purpose of procuring the means, they carried their measure into execution. After this outrage, one of their number went for a wagon, for the purpose of transporting me far from Berlin, that I should not be able to return in time for the meeting next day. During this interval, while being held fast by two men, I was made the subject of multiplied jeers and insults. I made several efforts to enter into conversation, and in one or two instances met with partial success. But Hughes, who was most surprisingly afraid of 'reason,' uniformly interfered and thwarted my purpose.

"When the wagon arrived, I was placed in it with three men, one to drive and two to prevent my escape. After ascertaining by search of my pockets that I had neither dirk nor pistols, they concluded to relinquish their hold on my person and permit me to ride in the most comfortable method I could. I was carried by them about ten miles, and left about an hour before day, near the center of Canfield. I was here an entire stranger, not knowing even the name of a single inhabitant of the township, and in a situation as may well be imagined anything but agreeable. But that God, whose I am and whom I humbly endeavor to serve, guided my steps to the house of Mr. Wetmore, where all my wants were most amply supplied. From his son, Mr. William Wetmore, I received the most marked sympathy and kindness. Of him I borrowed a suit of clothes, my own having been entirely spoiled, attended meeting through the day, and although laboring under considerable pain and

fever from the abuse of the previous night, I was permitted at 5 o'clock p. m. to open my mouth once more, for the dumb, and to search out the cause of those who, by the avarice and prejudice of the Nation, are appointed unto death.

* * * * *

"I will only add that I have since visited Berlin for the purpose of addressing a number of respectable citizens who were desirous of learning what this strange doctrine (abolition) was. But tar and feathers having proven ineffectual, other means were resorted to. I was now, together with my audience, subjected to other outrages, under the professed authority and sanction of law. The particulars of this transaction are worthy of record, and I will endeavor to furnish them next week.

Yours,

MARIUS R. ROBINSON.

"GILLFORD, June 13, 1837."

From a manuscript sketch of the life of Marius R. Robinson, written by his niece, Mrs. Homer C. Boyle, who knew him well and got from him direct the account of his experience at Berlin Center we quote the following:

"He went by invitation to Berlin Center, a village a few miles north of Salem to speak. He was the guest of Jesse Garretson, a Quaker merchant. * * * He spoke in Mr. Garretson's dwelling on Friday, June 2. Another meeting was arranged for the following Sunday when he proposed to vindicate the Bible from the charge of supporting slavery. This was more than the piety and patriotism of Berlin Center could endure. At eleven o'clock on Saturday evening Mr. Robinson was sitting in the store of his Quaker friend, Jesse Garretson, engaged in conversation with one or two friends. The leader of the already formed mob, Dr. Hughes, burst into the room saying, 'You have got to leave town tonight; you have disturbed the peace of our citizens long enough.' Mr. Robinson in spite of the vigorous efforts of his friends to protect him, was dragged into the street. * * * The hot tar burned his flesh. From one of his arms a piece of flesh an inch square was torn. In dragging him over a rack of scythes in the store another place was cut in his hip quite deep * * *. He was placed in a rough wagon, driven a distance of ten miles and thrown into a field near the village of Canfield, where he was an entire stranger, not knowing so much as the name of a single inhabi-

tant. The household to which he first presented himself was frightened by his appearance, and declined helping him, but he found a Good Samaritan in a Mr. Wetmore, by whom all his wants were supplied. He attended public worship twice on that Sunday and at five o'clock in the afternoon delivered an anti-slavery address, but he never recovered from the injuries then received. * * * He never manifested any other feeling toward his persecutors than that expressed by Jesus when in his agony upon the cross, he exclaimed, 'Father forgive them; they know not what they do.'"

Those who perpetrated this outrage were all well known. There was no attempt to conceal their identity; neither was there any effort to bring them to justice for this lawless act. On the other hand, Mr. Robinson was himself arrested on the charge of "inciting a mob." He was successfully defended in court by R. W. Tayler, later auditor of state and father of R. W. Tayler, congressman and U. S. district judge. There was plenty of law, but it was, seldom invoked at this time in behalf of abolitionists.

In 1839, Mr. Robinson was delivering anti-slavery lectures in Licking County. At Granville he was confined to his room for some time by a severe illness. Taking advantage of this his opponents resorted to a novel device to rid the community of his presence. The overseers of the poor were influenced to use their authority in behalf of the local pro-slavery sympathizers. They sent by a constable the following order which was served on Mr. Robinson when he was unable to leave his bed:

"LICKING COUNTY, GRANVILLE TOWNSHIP, SS.

"To H. C. MEAD, Constable of Said Township, Greeting:

"WHEREAS, We, the undersigned, overseers of the poor of Granville township, have received information that there has lately come into said township, a certain poor man, named Robinson, who is not a legal resident thereof, and will likely

become a township charge, you are therefore hereby commanded to warn the said Robinson, with his family, to depart out of said township. And of this warrant make service and return. Given under our hands this first day of March, 1839.

“CHARLES GILMAN,
“S. BANCROFT,
“*Overseers of the Poor.*”

Although he was ill, Robinson was not frightened at this order and stood his ground until he was able and ready to leave.

In 1840 and 1844 James G. Birney was the candidate of the Liberal Party for president of the United States. He ran on a platform pledged to the abolition of slavery and abolitionists of all shades of opinion supported him. The radical wing of the party, the followers of William Lloyd Garrison, grew restive under the leadership of those who sought to liberate the slave and at the same time to preserve the union. The abolition of slavery in the District of Columbia and in the territory of the United States they considered good so far as it went but not sufficient to justify continued union with the South where slavery existed under the sanction of the Constitution of the United States. Rather than live under such a government, they would rend the union asunder. They adopted as their battle cry “No Union with Slaveholders.” In other words, they were disunion abolitionists.

Naturally there were many who opposed slavery but were not prepared to go to this extreme. The division in the anti-slavery ranks, which had been growing for some time, reached a crisis in the annual meeting of the Western Anti-slavery Society which assembled in the Disciple Church at New Lisbon, Ohio, June 5, 1845. Abby Kelley, the aggressive and eloquent Quakeress and

radical abolitionist, assailed the citadel of conservatism in this convention and ultimately carried everything by storm. She declared that "Washington and Jefferson were slave holding thieves, living by the unpaid labor of robbed women and children." At this outburst a delegate stepped on the platform and declared, "This is a slander upon Jefferson who said in his warning against slavery 'I tremble for my country when I remember that God is just, and that his justice cannot sleep forever'."

Almost pushing the speaker from the stand Abby Kelley shouted:

"Ah, devils fear and tremble when the Almighty is thundering out his wrath upon them,—but are they the less devils?"

In the midst of the excitement a prominent citizen arose and said, "She is proving it all, but it will lead to war and bloodshed." At this point, oil was poured on the troubled waters by someone who led the great audience in singing these lines from Whittier:

"We have a weapon firmer set
And better than the bayonet;
A weapon that comes down as still
As snow-flakes fall upon the sod,
But executes a freeman's will
As lightning does the will of God."

The abolitionists of the Garrisonian school, now having complete control in this stronghold of anti-slavery sentiment in the West, took prompt steps to establish a newspaper for the promulgation of their views. This was to be to this section in a measure what the *Liberator* was to the East and the entire country. It was not to supersede but to supplement Garrison's great organ, and to give due prominence to the anti-slavery movement in Ohio and the northwest.

On June 29, 1845, the *Anti-Slavery Bugle* was launched. The first issue was published at New Lisbon, Ohio, and bore at its masthead, "No Union with Slave Holders." After the sixth issue it was moved to Salem, Ohio, where it was published until Abraham Lincoln issued his emancipation proclamation.

At first the *Bugle* carried the name of no editor, but it did not lack bold and vigorous editorial expression.* Some of the ablest writers of the abolition school in the United States were on the ground ready and eager to pen their fervid thoughts for publication. The seventh issue was published in Salem, September 5, 1845. In this appear the names of the following publishing committee: Samuel Brook, George Garretson, James Barnaby, Jr., David L. Galbreath and Lot Holmes. Barnaby was also general agent for the paper and the names of the editors were Benjamin S. Jones and J. Elizabeth Hitchcock. The editors were later married. In the issue of October 23, 1846, the name of George Garretson appears for the last time on the publishing committee. The names of the other members of this committee appear without change until the issue of October 8, 1847. At this time the members of the publishing committee were transferred to the executive committee of the Western Anti-slavery Society. In the issue of June 15, 1849, appears the valedictory of Benjamin S. Jones and J. Elizabeth Jones, the joint editors. Two weeks later "Words of Introduction," present Oliver Johnson, the famous anti-slavery advocate, as the new editor. He came expecting to remain only one year until a permanent editor could be found, but the

* The earliest editorials are said to have been written by Milo Townsend.

work was so congenial to him that he consented to remain almost two years. His "Parting Words" are found in the issue of April 26, 1851. Marius R. Robinson was then persuaded to undertake the editorial work. His salutatory in the issue of May 24, 1851, shows that he did this reluctantly and with misgivings as to his qualifications for the new position. He remained editor, however, until the cause for which the *Bugle* was established had been accomplished and publication ceased.

The *Bugle* was a four page, six column paper, that increased its size by increasing the width of its columns. Its space was given up almost entirely to the anti-slavery cause. There were few advertisements. The speeches of friends of the cause in Congress and on the platform were frequently reproduced in their entirety or extended quotations. There were letters of generous length from speakers in the field. Anti-slavery meetings and conventions were ably reported and local clashes with pro-slavery sympathizers were given considerable prominence. In short, this was an organ of agitation and propaganda. An editorial in the first issue sets forth pretty clearly the purpose of the publication. It reads as follows:

OUR PAPER

In extending to our readers our first greeting, we by no means intend to disparage ourselves that they may exalt us.

Though you may consider our garb rather home-spun, and our style somewhat homely, yet we come before you with no humble pretensions. Our mission is a great and glorious one. It is to "Preach deliverance to the captive, and the opening of the prison door to them that are bound," to hasten in the day when "Liberty shall be proclaimed throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof." Though in view of the magnitude of this enterprise, we feel that the intellect and power of an

angel would be but as a drop in the ocean of Truth, by which the vilest system of oppression the sun ever shone upon is to be swept away, yet knowing as we do that our influence is cast with justice and Humanity, with Truth and the God of Truth, our pretensions are far from humble, though our talents may be justly so considered.

He who professes to plead for man degraded and imbruted, and to strive for the elevation of the crushed millions of his race; he who professes to labor for the restoration of manhood to man, and for the recognition of his divine nature, makes no humble pretensions.

It is true our Bugle blast may not fall upon your ears with all the sweetness and softness which so well becomes the orchestra of an Italian or French opera company, but we intend that it shall give no uncertain sound, and God aiding us, we will blow a blast that shall be clear and startling as a hunting horn or battle charge, and we trust that its peals shall play around the hill-tops, and shall roll over the plains and down the valleys of our State, until from the waters of the Ohio to those of the mighty lakes, from Pennsylvania on the East to Indiana on the West, the land shall echo and re-echo to the soul-stirring cry of "NO UNION WITH SLAVEHOLDERS."

The *Bugle* was not devoted entirely to the anti-slavery cause. Incidentally it favored temperance, the abolition of capital punishment and woman suffrage. The first call for an Ohio woman suffrage convention appeared in this paper, April 13, 1850. This convention was held in Salem on the 19th day of April of that year. It may therefore be truthfully said that the *Bugle* was potent in starting this reform which only recently has been fully accomplished not only in this state but in the United States.

The promoters of the *Bugle* seemed to have been inspired with a high degree of state patriotism. They make the appeal for the paper not only in the name of its cause but in the name of Ohio. In the second issue appears a lengthy editorial from which we quote as follows:

"Unpopular then as may be the doctrine of 'No union with Slaveholders,' yet believing it to be true, the Committee have inscribed it upon their sheet. No other paper west of the mountains bears that motto. The Abolitionists of Eastern Pennsylvania, of New York, and of New England have unfurled their banners and written it upon the folds. Yonder, upon the soil of Bunker's Height, beneath the very shadow of time-honored and venerated Faneuil Hall, the "Liberator" has long since been given to the breeze; and towering above the crowded metropolis of New York, where the hurry of commerce, the din of business, and the conflict of selfish interests have almost drowned the voice of truth, floats the National 'Standard' of American Abolitionists. In the Quaker city of Pennsylvania, whose name once synonymous with Brotherly Love, has lost its beautiful signification, there are enough to sustain that banner which is the glory of the true 'Freeman'; and from the hills of New England—from the White mountains of New Hampshire is heard the voice of a 'Herald of Freedom' cheering the handful who have rallied around the mountain standard, and successfully defended it from the attacks of open foes and professed friends.

"'Westward the star of Empire takes its way!' Ohio has heard the call and responded to it. Her flag has been unfurled—the echo of Freedom's song has fallen upon her ear, she has caught up the notes and her Bugle is even now sounding throughout the land. Shall it be said that the Buckeye State is content to remain behind her older sisters in this glorious enterprise? God forbid! Let those of us who profess to love the cause of freedom, show at this time that our love for it is not an empty name."

The non-resistant attitude of Garrison was pleasing to the anti-slavery forces in Columbiana County, which for the most part were reared under Quaker influences. Their agitation often provoked blows and mob violence of which they were the victims. In remarkably few instances did they defend themselves against insult and personal violence. Their meekness and persistence, as one of their foes once expressed it, "were infernally exasperating." They serenely refused to get angry or excited. Their only weapon was argument, and it is

not recorded that they ever ran out of ammunition in the war of words. The industry with which they spread their propaganda and devoted themselves to the overthrow of the slave power was truly wonderful. At night they traveled far to help fugitive slaves along the Underground Railroad toward the goal of freedom; in daytime they went long distances to hear their speakers, and they gave freely of their time and meager means to a cause that could bring them neither wealth nor fame, — a cause that was to them an educating influence, an inspiration to unselfish endeavor and, in some instances, the master passion of their lives. They found a genuine enjoyment in this work and were ever cheered by an unwavering faith that it would ultimately triumph. By the standards of their time they were narrow-minded and fanatical, but they saw in straight and prophetic lines and the “visionary” and “impractical” reforms that they advocated in their day became the triumphant realities of a succeeding generation.

The anti-slavery speakers whose itineraries radiated from Salem, very frequently had difficulty in finding rooms in which to conduct their meetings. Public buildings and churches were usually closed against them. Even the Quakers who freely bore testimony against slavery sometimes hesitated to open their meeting houses to the anti-slavery agents. Oliver Johnson, then editor of the *Anti-Slavery Bugle*, in the issue of that paper June 22, 1850, gives an account of a meeting that he addressed in Columbiana on the Sunday preceding, which is here reproduced in part:

“The afternoon meeting was appointed at our request, made at the close of the regular meeting held in the morning — *no one objecting*. On going to the meeting at three P. M., however,



OLIVER JOHNSON

EDITORS OF THE ANTI-SLAVERY BUGLE
See pages 388, 392.



MARIUS R. ROBINSON

Friends found the gate secured by strong padlocks, and the doors and windows made fast. We have reason to believe that this outrage against many respectable members of the Society was committed with the full knowledge and approbation of the two preachers who usually attend that meeting.

"Friends feeling that their right to the use of the house under the circumstances was unquestioned, did not hesitate to scale the fences and enter it by the readiest means in their power. To accomplish the object nothing more was necessary than to remove a protruding nail from a sash by pressing against it another nail, and then to open a window, through which a boy found ready ingress. The bar that held one of the doors being removed, the audience found shelter from the rain, and enjoyed the opportunity they had sought for the promotion of the cause of Christian Reform.

"Whatever of responsibility is involved in the removal of the nail, we cheerfully take upon ourselves for the act was performed by our hands; and we must also plead guilty to a subsequent effort to *drive a fresh nail* in the coffin of proslavery Quakerism."

There were, however, some halls and churches that were always open to anti-slavery speakers. Among the latter was the church* near Cool Spring, or Unionville, as the village was later called. This was a favorite meeting place not only because the use of the church was freely granted but because it was located midway between a number of villages and conveniently accessible to many people in northern Columbiana County. On Sunday, July 14, 1850, a meeting of unusual interest was held there. Following is the full account as it appeared in the *Bugle* of July 20, 1850:

* The trustees of this church, which was located about one-fourth of a mile east of Cool Spring, were Samuel Nye, David Galbreath and Samuel Heaton, in whom and their successors the title of the property was vested "to be free to all the sons and daughters of Adam" for public worship. The father and two uncles of David Galbreath, all Quakers, had established a similar church near the village of New Garden, Columbiana County, in 1806. Three of his children he named after anti-slavery leaders—Charles C. Burleigh, Abby Kelley and Parker Pillsbury. All three of the trustees were in sympathy with the anti-slavery movement. The church was torn down some time ago and the village of Cool Spring, or Unionville as it is still called, has for years been slowly declining, due to the growth of Leetonia, a railway town less than two miles distant.

"As we anticipated, the meeting at Cool Spring on Sunday last was attended by a large concourse of people from the surrounding country, most of them doubtless attracted by the prospect of listening to the fervid eloquence of Abby Kelley Foster. The meeting house being too small to accommodate even one-half the throng, the windows on the north side were removed, and the speaker taking her place at one of the apertures was heard with great ease as well by those on the outside as by those within the walls.

"Mrs. Foster's subject in the forenoon was the popular religion of the land — the spuriousness of its worship and forms, contrasted with the pure and undefiled Christianity of the New Testament. She spoke with great power, and with an unction proceeding from the heart and from a deep sympathy with struggling humanity. The large audience listened as if spell-bound for upwards of two hours, and we are confident that a deep and abiding impression was made on many minds. At the conclusion of her address, several questions were put by Dr. Evans and De Lorma Brooks, Esq. of New Lisbon, which, for want of time before adjournment, were not fully answered. After a few remarks by Henry C. Wright, the meeting adjourned until 2 o'clock P. M.

"The friends of the cause having reason to believe that a concerted effort would be made to throw the meeting into confusion, determined to organize at the commencement of the afternoon session by the appointment of a chairman to keep order. Five or ten minutes, however, before the hour appointed for the opening of the meeting, a vagrant buffoon and rowdy, calling himself Dr. O. C. Evans, took his place near the stand and commenced a characteristic speech. When the hour of 2 o'clock had arrived, Samuel Myers mildly requested him to desist, but he refused to do so in the most insulting manner, and proceeded with his harangue, being encouraged in that outrageous course by a few rowdies as vulgar as himself. Of course he had no more right to speak at that time, in defiance of all order and of the wishes of those who had called the meeting, than he had to pick the pockets of those assembled; but all appeals to his sense of justice and his regard for decency were alike vain; he had come to the meeting resolved that his voice should be heard, not in a peaceable and orderly manner, but in such a way to produce all possible confusion. He was told that, if he would suffer the meeting to become organized, he should have the floor at once; but it was of no use.

"Seing that remonstrance was vain, the anti-slavery friends appointed their chairman, quietly removed their speakers' stand to the south side of the house, and left the brawler and his

congenial spirits to themselves. The creature then played the buffoon for an hour or more for the amusement of his cronies, who enveloped in the smoke of burning tobacco doubtless thought they had achieved a victory over the Abolitionists and saved the Union and the Church from destruction! That the noise of the rowdy doctor — for he roared like a ‘bull of Bashan’ — and the loud jeers of his boon companions, did not annoy the friends of order, it would be too much to say; but the disturbance was not such as to interrupt the progress of the meeting. Able addresses were made by H. C. Wright and A. K. Foster. William D. Ewing of New Lisbon, a sort of amateur Free-soiler, came forward in a manly way to vindicate the Constitution and the Union, but we cannot honestly say that he helped the cause he sought to defend. De Lorma Brooks, an out-and-out Whig, who believes that the ‘self-evident truths’ of the Declaration of Independence are a transparent lie — whose highest rule of morality is that ‘Power gives Right,’ and wouldn’t mind holding slaves and raising them for market if the *law* only allowed it — controverted alike the views of the Abolitionists and of Mr. Ewing. He admitted, however, that the former were consistent in opposing the Union and Constitution believing as they did that slavery was a sin and that it was a crime to aid in upholding it. They were both pretty effectually ‘used up’ by A. K. F.

“The meeting on the whole was a grand one, and we believe that the good seed so freely sown will produce an abundant harvest.

“We have understood, and see many reasons for believing, that Dr. Evans was hired by certain persons in Salem and taken to Cool Spring for the very purpose of creating a disturbance. Among those who were guilty of this meanness we have heard mentioned the names of some persons who would like to be thought respectable, and who in fact have hitherto borne such a reputation. Perhaps they contemplated no more than an amusing conflict between their rowdy champion and the anti-slavery speakers, but even this was wholly unjustifiable. They knew well enough that he was a mere brawler, as incapable of discussing the question raised by Abolitionists as he was of comprehending what belonged to a gentlemanly propriety and decency. To encourage such a person to make his appearance on the platform, and, under the guise of free discussion to create disturbance, was an insult to the meeting and disgraceful to all concerned in it. Our opponents very well know that we are ever ready to meet them in fair argument — that our platform is not more free to ourselves than to them. Is it generous, or manly in them, in return for this liberality, to seek to make our meeting scenes of confusion and vulgar rowdyism?”

The New Lisbon *Palladium*, the Whig organ of the county, handled these meetings in the following summary fashion:

"Abby Kelley Foster is again upon the stump ministering to the depraved appetites of her fanatical followers. She spoke in this place Saturday last and at Cool Spring, about seven miles north of here, on Sunday. The people of New Lisbon showed their good sense by staying from the meeting, letting her rave her blasphemies in the ears of those who have just wit enough to believe in the doctrine that 'the bible's a farce and Jesus Christ's an impostor.' We sincerely trust that even to those poor witless fools who are blinded by her eloquence to the dangerous tendencies of her doctrines the poison may be of so malignant a nature as to carry with it its own antidote."

The town of Salem was well chosen as the western citadel of the anti-slavery forces. It was settled by Quakers, and traditions of hostility to the slave power extended back to the earliest settlement there in 1806. The *Bugle* was safe in this stronghold. James G. Birney's *Philanthropist* might be mobbed and his press and type thrown into the river at Cincinnati, but there was no time when it would have been safe for a party of lawless and desperate men to make an attack on the office of the *Bugle* in Salem. There had grown up in the town a sturdy generation of young men who, in such a contingency, would have forgotten their "non-resistant" creed. Their long war of words was preparatory to action, as we shall presently see.

On Monday, August 28, 1854, occurred the rescue of a slave girl in Salem, Ohio, under circumstances that entitle it to a place in this record. The story of this episode has been briefly related in print with varied and conflicting details. Fortunately it is now possible to tell it from the testimony of eye witnesses, written at the time and worthy of all confidence. The newspapers

are at last at hand which give in very satisfactory form the contemporaneous accounts.

On the above mentioned date the Western Anti-slavery Society was holding in Salem the concluding session of its annual convention. This was the afternoon of the third day. The previous sessions were held in a large tent not far from the railroad station. The final session, it seems, was held in the Hicksite Quaker Church, still standing on Ellsworth Street. Such is the testimony of a few persons still living who were present at this memorable session. A contributor to the *Liberator*, who was present and sent an account to that paper, states that the meeting was in progress "about a quarter of a mile from the railroad station," and that accords with the location of the church.

At about 3 o'clock in the afternoon a telegram was received in Salem stating that a train bearing a slaveholder, his wife and a girl slave, had left Pittsburgh for the west and would pass through the town at 6 o'clock that afternoon. This telegram was taken to the convention, the speaker on the floor was interrupted and the message was read. This stirred the audience. The speaker asked if they believed their professed principles and were ready to march to the station to rescue the slave. With one impulse the assembly rose to their feet and were soon on their way to meet the incoming train.

In the meantime the news had spread through the town and many citizens joined the convention delegates. They reached the station before the train was due, improvised a speaker's stand and were addressed by Charles C. Burleigh of Massachusetts, Reverend Griffing of Connecticut and others.



ABBY KELLEY
See page 391.



CHARLES C. BURLEIGH
See page 389.

A committee was appointed to board the train when it arrived. On this committee were Henry B. Blackwell, of Cincinnati, and a colored man of Salem. The latter was chosen because it was assumed that the slave girl would be frightened and that she would have confidence in one of her own color.

The crowd at the depot had been growing and excitement had reached a high pitch when the 6 o'clock train pulled in. Some of the citizens engaged the conductor in conversation while the committee entered the coach and soon located the slave. She was a child, evidently about twelve years of age. In answer to a direct question from a member of the committee, "Do you desire to be free?" the child answered, "Yes."

The girl's master and mistress objected to any interference with their property, insisting that she belonged to them and was on her way to Tennessee. Thereupon Mr. Blackwell informed them that the child was legally free, lifted her bodily from the seat, carried her out of the car and joined the crowd which sent up a great cheer. The girl was soon taken to a place of safety. She was much frightened at the large crowd and strange surroundings. As they were taking her from the train she said:

"Oh, don't put me to jail."

"No, no," said one of the rescuers, "we will not put you to jail, we have no jails here."

"What, have you no jails?" she said.

"No," was the answer, "but why do you ask?"

"Because," said she, "they take us to the jail when we are sold. And have you no watch-house either?"

"Oh, no, why should we have a watch-house?"

"Why, they take us to the watch-house to be whipped."

The westbound train that brought the slave girl was delayed at Salem half an hour to pass the eastbound train which was late. The crowd did not leave the depot but used a large store box as a speaker's platform from which Charles C. Burleigh regaled them with one of his most eloquent addresses. When finally the train bearing the slaveholder and his wife started westward, a great meeting in the town hall for that evening was announced and with another triumphant cheer the rescuers left the railroad station. That evening there was a great ringing of bells, calling the people to the meeting in town hall, "Liberty Hall," "the Faneuil Hall of the West" as it has been called, and the people came in numbers that exceeded the capacity of the hall.

The slave girl was brought to the rostrum. An eye witness stated to the writer that she was led forth by a white girl about her own age. There was cheering and someone in the audience called out, "Which is the slave?" and then there was more applause and an appropriate song. The meeting was addressed by Henry B. Blackwell of Cincinnati, Reverend Griffing of Connecticut, Charles C. Burleigh of Massachusetts and Marius Robinson and Henry Ambler of Salem. Burleigh, as usual, spoke in his scholarly, serious and eloquent vein. Ambler swayed the audience with alternate sallies of humor and stirring appeals. The meeting reached its appropriate climax when the little girl was again brought forward and named "Abby Kelley Salem," after the famous Quaker woman whose oratory had done so much to advance the anti-slavery cause in the West

and the town which organized and successfully carried out the rescue.

The following resolution was unanimously adopted:

“RESOLVED, That in tendering our thanks to those our friends who were actively engaged in this day’s rescue of a living soul from the fate of a chattel, Salem sends greeting to her elder cities, Cincinnati, Pittsburgh and Boston, inviting them ‘to go and do likewise.’”

The meeting then “adjourned to meet again at the depot or elsewhere when a similar occasion might call them together.”

This incident illustrates the spirit of Salem in the interesting decade before the Civil War. The citizens there and in many communities in northeastern Ohio found genuine enjoyment in the advocacy of their favorite reform. The anti-slavery meetings and conventions were fountains of enthusiasm from which they freely drank. The anathemas and showers of eggs with which they were assailed in earlier years no longer marred their gatherings. The tide of popular favor was at last turning strongly in their direction. They rejoiced in the controversy and the prospect of the fruition of their labors.

The rescue of the slave girl had its aftermath. The *Cleveland Herald*, the *Cleveland Plain Dealer* and the *Cincinnati Enquirer* denounced it as the work of “fanatics, fools and knaves,” and announced that the slave girl had been taken against her will. On the other hand the *Cleveland Leader* stoutly defended the action of the people of Salem on the following grounds:

“1. The child was free by the laws of Ohio the moment the train of cars crossed the Columbiana County line.

"2. The 'master and mistress' were kidnappers every minute they held her as a chattel in their custody while on the soil of Ohio.

"3. Any man had a legal right to rescue the little girl from the grasp of these kidnappers.

"4. The child, when asked whether she desired to be free, distinctly replies, 'Yes'.

"5. It is said by the dough-faces that it was wrong and cruel to prevent the little girl from returning to her mother. Bah! The girl says that her mother was taken from her long ago, that she has not seen or heard from her for years — just as tens of thousands of slave mothers before her have been forcibly torn from their children. The child has been placed in the hands of a wealthy, humane Quaker family that will educate her and raise her rightly, and when she is of age she can return 'to her mother' and resume her chains if she chooses."

Henry B. Blackwell, of Cincinnati, published a defense in the papers of his city, of his connection with the rescue. It concludes as follows:

"The only assault committed was that of Mr. Samuel B. Keyes upon myself, an offense which I cheerfully forgive, because he appeared to labor under unusual and unnecessary excitement.

"After the child was placed in safety, I returned to the cars, not to apologize for any rudeness to the lady, for I had been guilty of none, but to explain to her our motives for removing the child. No one who knows me will for a moment believe me capable of insulting or offering disrespect to a woman.

"Is there any southern city where abolitionists caught in the act of removing a slave child into freedom, would enjoy as much forbearance as did these slaveholders who were taking a free child into slavery?

"In conclusion, I will merely say that the deed was done in open daylight, before many witnesses, by men of character and responsibility. If any injustice has been done to Mr. Robinson or to his lady I hold myself amenable to the laws of my state and to public opinion. I invite the fullest investigation. In strict accordance with justice and the laws I have assisted to prevent a free child in Ohio from being kidnapped. To have done otherwise would have forfeited my self respect and proved myself unworthy the position of an American citizen.

"Nobody is hurt. The little chattel of Tennessee will now grow up into a free and intelligent woman of Ohio. She is in

the hands of kind and conscientious friends who will provide for her interests."

The Anti-Slavery Bugle approved the rescue in a strong editorial, concluding as follows on the legal aspect of the case:

"The Supreme Court of Ohio has decided that the course pursued by the Salem rescuers was entirely legal. Some years since, a similar rescue was happily effected by our friends, Abram and Edward Brooke and others. Then, as now, a hue and cry was raised against those engaged in the heroic undertaking, for it required more heroism to do it then than now. They were hunted by the mob and persecuted by appeals to law, at the instance of pro-slavery Ohioans. The Court of Common Pleas decided against the rescuers as guilty of offense against law. The case was appealed to the Supreme Court, and Judge Lane decided the act to be lawful and constitutional and that the rescuers had the right to use so much force as was needful to effect the deliverance of the slaves."

The rescued slave girl lived many years in Salem, at first in the family of Joel McMillan. She attended the public schools and grew up with many of the advantages of white children. In disposition, however, she did not exhibit the traits that some enthusiastic anti-slavery workers were wont to ascribe rather indiscriminately to the colored people. Mrs. McMillan late in life said that some of the characteristics of Mrs. Stowe's Topsy were manifest in Abby Kelley Salem.

Very early in the history of Columbiana County aid was freely given the slaves escaping from their masters. The Underground Railroad had a number of active agents in New Lisbon, Salem and the surrounding country. The list of their names is a long one and incomplete. The secrecy that this work enjoined prevented for the most part written or printed records, and its history is necessarily somewhat traditional.

In the late fifties the anti-slavery cause drew to it rapidly increasing numbers of supporters. While the "disunion abolitionists", as the followers of Garrison were called, still adhered to their slogan, "No union with slave-holders," there was a gradual "getting together" of all the anti-slavery forces, and a mighty undercurrent was bearing the people toward "the constitutionalizing of the Declaration of Independence."

NOTES.

MARIUS R. ROBINSON.

Marius R. Robinson, son of Benjamin and Naamah Robinson, was born in Dalton, Berkshire County, Massachusetts, July 29, 1806. He died in Salem, Ohio, December 8, 1878. He was the eldest of a large family of boys and girls. Limited means and the Puritan code enforced economy, temperate habits and moral rigidity. When he was ten years old he moved with his parents to Dansville, New York. Soon afterward he went to Utica in that state where he learned the trade of printer. In 1827 he went south and taught school in the Creekpath mission of the Cherokee Nation. While teaching in this Indian school he studied theology, reciting to private teachers. In 1830 he entered the Nashville University in the third or junior year of the four years course and two years later was graduated from this institution with high honors. His diploma, which is still in the possession of a relative, bears the name of President Andrew Jackson. After graduation he entered Lane Seminary in Cincinnati under the administration of Rev. Lyman Beecher, father of Henry Ward Beecher and Harriet Beecher Stowe. Here he remained two years until the controversy between the trustees, faculty and students of that institution over the question of slavery. For some time a colonization society had been conducted by the students with the approval of the trustees, but finally the students organized an abolition society. To this the trustees and patrons from the South at once objected and both societies were forbidden. The students, however, from the North and many from the South insisted upon continuing the abolition society and severed their connection with the seminary rather than submit to the regulation of the trustees and faculty. They continued their studies through the winter in a room that they hired and under privately employed teachers.

In the spring of 1836 Mr. Robinson was employed on the

Philanthropist published by James G. Birney. While engaged in this work the printing office was mobbed but the presses and type were saved. In June of this year he was ordained to the ministry in Jamestown, New York. In August he was appointed by the American Anti-Slavery Society as lecturer for middle and northern Ohio. His work brought him to Salem which later became his permanent home.

While in Cincinnati he became acquainted with Miss Emily Rakestraw, of New Garden, Ohio, who had gone to that city to teach in the colored schools. For this she was practically ostracized by the white people of Cincinnati and by not a few of her friends in her home village. She afterwards became the wife of Mr. Robinson and as the village of New Garden was near Salem the two had family ties that made their new field of labor doubly attractive. In 1851 Mr. Robinson became editor of the *Anti-Slavery Bugle* and continued in that position until 1863. Promptly on the conclusion of his editorial labors he became president of the Ohio Mutual Fire Insurance Company with offices at Salem and continued in this position up to the date of his death.

Oliver Johnson, whom he succeeded as editor of the *Bugle*, gives this summary of his estimate of his friend and co-worker:

"Mr. Robinson was a man of great sweetness and purity of life, and an earnest and eloquent champion of every principle and measure which he thought beneficial to his fellow-men. He combined great courage with great discretion, winning the respect and confidence even of those whose views differed most widely from his own. Of pure and undefiled religion, as defined by the apostle James, he was at once a defender and an exemplar. As a speaker he was full of what is usually called magnetic power, by which he was able to command the attention and sway the sympathies of his hearers. For many years he was editor of the *Ohio Anti-Slavery Bugle*, the files of which are a memorial of his power as a writer as well as of his unswerving devotion to the cause of freedom."

CHARLES C. BURLEIGH.

Charles Calistus Burleigh was born in Plainfield, Connecticut, November 10, 1810. He died in Florence, Massachusetts, June 14, 1878. He was the son of Rinaldo Burleigh, a graduate of Yale, and of Lydia Bradford, a lineal descendent of Governor Bradford who came to America in the *Mayflower*. He studied law and was admitted to the bar of Windham County, Connecticut, but he early became interested in the anti-slavery cause and soon devoted his entire time to it. He was editor of *The*

Unionist, an abolition paper published in his state. In 1835 he assisted in protecting William Lloyd Garrison from the mob in Boston. He was a speaker in Pennsylvania Hall, Philadelphia, in 1838 when the building was attacked and burned by a mob. For several years he preached for the Free Congregational Society of Florence, Massachusetts, and at one time served in a similar capacity in Bloomington, Illinois. He is described as a remarkably eloquent speaker. He had vowed that he would not cut his hair until the slaves were emancipated. His long, abundant hair and his heavy beard marked him as an eccentric personality and the impression that he made on first appearance was for this reason against him. Mrs. Fanny Garrison Villard, the daughter of William Lloyd Garrison, recalls a meeting at which her father and Burleigh were the principal speakers. Her father was bald from the age of twenty-one. The contrast between the appearance of the two speakers led some lusty lunged fellow in the audience to bawl out, "Someone shave that black Christ and make a wig of his beard for Garrison."

Mr. Burleigh's eloquence, however, soon led his audience to forget his beard and long flowing locks. The following quotation from a letter dated May 10, 1852, from a person not in sympathy with his views who heard him speak in Cincinnati, gives some idea of the impression that he made as a lecturer:

"A few evenings ago I went to hear a lecture at the Mechanics' Institute, from C. C. Burleigh, the celebrated abolition orator from New England. * * * The orator presently made his appearance and a most unfavorable one it was—the first characteristic being an intense amount of beard, covering his face and breast, so that you could see little more than his nose and eyes above the top vest-button. I must do him the justice to say, however, that his language was beautifully chaste, his imagery superb, and the whole manner of his oratory fascinating to a very high degree. His reasoning was of that kind which to the superficial seems absolutely conclusive and unanswerable; and I could easily perceive how an ardent and unreflecting temperament might be led by it into the belief that the institution of slavery was 'the sum of all villainies,' and the obligation to suppress it the highest of Christian duties. It is no vanity, in me, however, to say that I saw in the whole argument, a transparent sophistry, founded upon utter ignorance or wilful misrepresentation of the real condition of the slave in every southern state. * * * With a few such impressive speakers as this man Burleigh speaking in populous communities, with the *countenance* of such auditors as have been flocking to hear him in this place, there will be thousands of the unwary, the inexperienced and the ardent of temperament led into uniting

their forces with the unscrupulous and treacherous to the effecting of most injurious, not to say disastrous results."

Burleigh was an advocate of woman's rights, temperance and the abolition of capital punishment. In 1845 he wrote "Thoughts on the Death Penalty" which is still sometimes quoted by the opponents of capital punishment. One in sympathy with his work has described him as "tall, with a noble countenance, with long sandy beard and hair and dressed unconventionally."

He spoke frequently in eastern Ohio where he became a great favorite among friends of the anti-slavery movement.

ABBY KELLEY.

Abby Kelley was born in Pelham, Massachusetts, January 15, 1811 and died in Worcester, Massachusetts, January 14, 1887. Her ancestors were Irish Quakers. She was educated at the Friends School, Providence, Rhode Island, taught school for a number of years and resigned her position in the Friends School at Lynn, Massachusetts, in 1835 to enter the anti-slavery lecture field. She lectured in Connecticut, Pennsylvania and Ohio and it is to her influence largely that the *Anti-Slavery Bugle* was founded. She also had much to do with the swaying of the Ohio Anti-slavery Society to the support of the Garrisonian abolitionists whose motto was "no union with slave holders." They were frequently called dis-union abolitionists. In 1839 the name of this society was changed to Western Anti-Slavery Society and it became an auxiliary of the national society. In 1845 she married Steven S. Foster and accompanied by her husband she continued in the lecture field. The poet Lowell thus describes her:

"A Judith there, turned Quakeress,
Sits Abby in her modest dress.
No nobler gift of heart or brain,
No life more white from spot or stain,
Was e'er on freedom's altar laid,
Than her's — the simple Quaker maid."

After the triumph of the anti-slavery cause she and her husband settled on a farm in Massachusetts. They were both ardent advocates of woman suffrage. She aided in the campaign for the adoption of the fifteenth amendment in doubtful states. This appears to have been her last service in the lecture field. She is said to have been an amiable and pleasing personality but the severity of her arraignments on the platform at times led her hearers, especially those who did not agree with her, to reach a different conclusion. When she came to Salem, Ohio,

it is said that she went to the home of Jacob Heaton, a prominent anti-slavery advocate of that town, who was also a firm supporter of the Liberty Party. When she came to his home, before entering she said to him: "I do not know that thee will wish me to enter thy home. I have come to kill the Liberty Party." To this Mr. Heaton answered with a smile, "Come in, Abby, and we will kill thee with kindness."

OLIVER JOHNSON.

Oliver Johnson was born at Peacham, Vermont, December 27, 1809. He died December 8, 1889. He was an apprentice printer in the office of the *Watchman* published at Montpelier, Vermont. He was afterwards engaged in a number of newspaper enterprises and interested himself in benevolent movements and the anti-slavery cause. He aided in organizing the New England Anti-slavery Society in 1832, assisted William Lloyd Garrison in the publication of the *Liberator*, went to Ohio and there lectured for the Western Anti-Slavery Society and edited the *Anti-Slavery Bugle* for almost two years. He afterward returned to the east and in 1865 became managing editor of the *Independent*. In 1870 he became editor of the *New York Weekly Tribune* and two weeks later accepted the editorship of the *Christian Union*. He wrote a book entitled *William Lloyd Garrison and his Times; or sketches of the anti-slavery movement in America*.

JOHN FROST.

John Frost was born in Fayette County, Pennsylvania, July 18, 1806 and died January 1, 1885. He came with his parents to Hanover Township, Columbiana County, in 1811. He received his education in the pioneer public schools and the printing office. He was a born reformer and early became identified with the anti-slavery movement—"itself a great educator." In 1827 he entered the office of the *American*, published in New Lisbon, Ohio, where he learned the printer's trade. In 1832 he established the *Aurora*, the first issue of which bears the date of March 15 of that year. This paper he continued to publish until 1856. Its character is set forth on preceding pages and in the excerpt following this sketch. It was published at first in an office "over the store of Potter and Quinby two doors west of Mr. Daily's hotel," and later from an office on Walnut Street, constructed in circular form, so built as the editor expressed it, that "the devil could not corner him."

After the *Aurora* ceased publication, Mr. Frost went to Ravenna, Ohio, where for a time he was one of the editors of the *Reformer*, a radical anti-slavery paper. From 1859-1862

he followed the printer's trade in eastern cities principally Philadelphia. In 1863 he returned to Ohio and with Peter Walker of Massillon commenced in that city the publication of the *Independent*, which he continued successfully for ten years. In 1873 he returned to New Lisbon, where he was employed until within a few weeks of his death in general newspaper work, much of his time in his later years being spent in the office of the *Buckeye State*. He was a reformer and actively interested in promoting the moral and educational welfare of the communities in which he lived. Firmly grounded in his faith, he was tolerant of those sincerely holding opposite views and, through the stormy controversial times in which he lived, he ever preserved a genial and gentle personality.

THE AURORA.

Volume I, Number 1, March 15, 1921

The introductory note at the head of the first column is brief and is here quoted in full:

"THE AURORA

will be published weekly, at two dollars per annum if paid within the year, or two dollars and fifty cents if payment be extended beyond that period. No discontinuance until all arrearages are paid—Office over the store of Potter & Quinby two doors west of Mr. Daily's hotel.

"Advertisements not exceeding a square, one dollar for the three first insertions, and twenty-five cents for each subsequent insertion. Longer ones in proportion."

The editor's salutatory, which appears at the head of the third page, is as follows:

"In the early part of November, we issued a prospectus, for publishing, in the town of New Lisbon, a newspaper called 'The Aurora.' At that time, we intended to commence its publication on the first of January last, and with a view thereto we sent to Cincinnati for the press and materials, which, in consequence of the obstruction of the navigation of the Ohio River by ice, we have not been able to obtain until a few weeks past.

"In presenting to the public the first number of our paper, some apology for the matter it contains we deem necessary: Unfavored with the advantages of an exchange, we were obliged to gather the best we could from the few papers in our possession. Hereafter, we are in hopes that these disadvantages will be removed; and that we shall be able, by a judicious selection, from the best periodicals and newspapers printed in the United States, to make our future numbers more interesting than the present.

"Since the issuing of our prospectus for this publication, much speculation has been afloat as to the course that would be taken in its direction. Many things have been in circulation, calculated to prejudice and forestall public opinion; and to produce a withholding of that support, which we otherwise might have expected. To correct the public

upon this subject, we have thought it advisable to notice two of the most prominent objections that have been urged against the establishment of this press. It is stated that this county cannot support three presses; and that in case ours succeeds, it must be at the expense of others. This statement, in our opinion, is incorrect—we cannot as yet, believe that the rich county of Columbiana, with a population of thirty-six thousand, is incapable of supporting three presses. It must be borne in mind that improvement is on the march—that general information is becoming every day more widely infused, and the advantages of newspapers more properly appreciated. We deem the time not far distant when almost every family in our county will consider a newspaper an indispensable requisite to its interests and amusement.

"It has also been stated, and pretty generally circulated, that this press has been established for the express purpose of rearing up a political antimasonic party—to proscribe those who belong to the masonic institution; and to lift into office a few political aspirants, who have no other way of getting in. We unequivocally pronounce this to be incorrect. We are opposed to political antimasonry unless it should be needed to counteract the effects of political masonry; we are opposed to proscribing any man, because he belongs to this society, or that; and, we are also opposed to that class of men that espouse any party for the purpose of office.

"In principle, we are antimasonic. We look upon the masonic institution as entirely useless, and calculated, if for nothing more, to create suspicion and mistrust. And in the direction of this paper, we shall occasionally endeavor to show why, & wherein, it is useless, & the reasons why it ought to be abolished. In doing which, we shall not travel out of the path of truth, or o'erstep the bounds of candor and propriety. Our columns also will be open for a fair discussion of its principles. And if they are, as its friends represent them to be, correct and useful, they have nothing to fear from investigation, if not, the public ought to be made acquainted with them.

"By some, it is contended that the press has nothing to do with the subject of masonry; that it steps aside from its duty when it meddles with it. We think differently—we consider no society privileged, however ancient it may be, or whatever may be its tenets or principles. If they be useful, the world ought to be made acquainted with it, if not, justice requires an exposure; and the press, in our opinion, is the proper vehicle to make that exposure. Whatever concerns the public, the press ought not to withhold. Like a faithful sentinel, its duty is to watch over the welfare of the country; and to sound the alarm when danger either stalks abroad at noonday, or skulks about under the cover of the night. Such are our views of masonry, and such are our views of the duties of the public press.

"In politics this press will be governed by principles rather than men—only adhering to such men as are governed by correct motives, and whose abilities and integrity entitle them to public confidence. Believing that the American system embraces the true policy of our country—a policy calculated to make us independent in time of war, and happy in time of peace, we shall give it our undivided support.

"As to the two political parties that now agitate this country, we shall not espouse either; but endeavor to pursue an independent course, and to publish such matter on both sides as may be interesting to the public. Experience has fully shown that, in the rage of political excitement, truth is frequently sacrificed to party purposes, and the public most egregiously imposed upon—such things ought not to be—truth ought

to be published, whether the same makes against this party or that; that the people may be correctly informed, and be prepared to act in the exercise of their elective franchise.

"Believing that the greatest portion of our readers will be among those, who belong to the agricultural and manufacturing occupations, we shall take great pains to make this paper valuable to them; for that purpose, we shall, as soon as possible, devote a part of this paper exclusively to such subjects as more particularly interest them.—In short it will be our aim to make our columns interesting to all classes of community."

ILLUSTRATIONS.

The portraits of Abby Kelley, Oliver Johnson and Charles C. Burleigh are reproduced from *William Lloyd Garrison, 1805-1879, The Story of His Life Told by His Children*. These were made from daguerreotypes taken prior to 1860. The portrait of John Frost is from a photograph loaned by his niece, Mrs. T. B. Marquis. The picture of his office is from a photograph loaned by his grand-daughter, Mrs. C. C. Helman.

RESCUE OF "ABBY KELLEY SALEM."

The facts upon which the account of this rescue is based were gleaned chiefly from the files of the *Village Register* published in Salem, Ohio. Confirmatory and supplemental information was gathered from files of the *Liberator*.





Edwin Coppoc

EDWIN COPPOC.

BY C. B. GALBREATH.

Among many villages of our state that pursue the even tenor of their way so peacefully and quietly that they earn their way to honorable obscurity, is Winona, Columbiana County. This name was chosen from Longfellow's Hiawatha, for the citizens of this place find time to read, enjoy what we dignify as "literature" and are in a very useful and unpretentious way "cultured." The church and the school are liberally patronized. The moral standard of the community is high.

Through the bellum and ante-bellum days this village was simply a crossroads, unnamed as yet, with little to distinguish it from the surrounding country, which is rolling, well watered and fertile. It was not christened Winona until the year 1868.

Hither in pioneer days at the opening of the last century came the Quakers, chiefly from North Carolina. The admission of Ohio as a free state in 1803 made it attractive to these people. They were uncompromisingly opposed to slavery. They did not seek controversies with slaveholding neighbors in the South, but preferred to make their homes in a land dedicated to universal liberty.

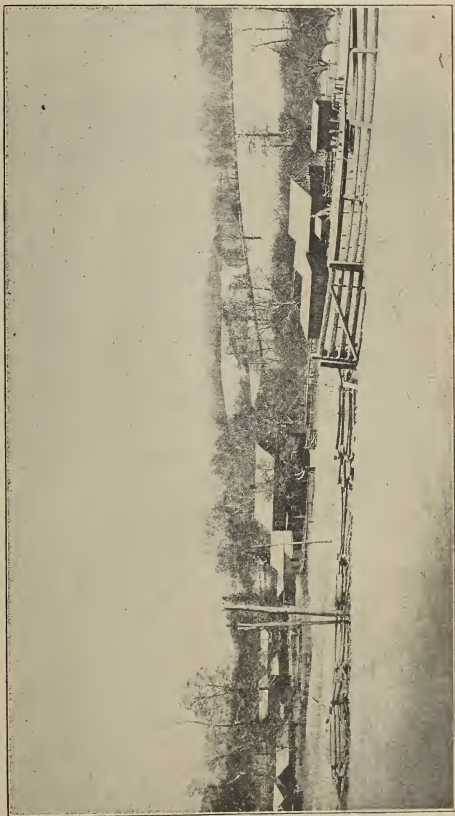
As a people they were frugal, industrious, honest, a little inconsistent, strangers say, in their plain clothes and plain language, but opposed with uncompromising firmness to all forms of organized injustice, intolerance and oppression. In the new state they found congenial

environment, the opportunity to practice unmolested the tenets of their simple faith and a form of government that disturbed them little in the course of their uneventful and peaceful lives.

The settlement about what afterward became Winona was typically Quaker. Year in and year out these people tilled the earth, sowed the seed and gathered the harvests in. On First Day of each week they met for silent worship. They bowed in silence before partaking of their daily bread. They were a law unto themselves and very seldom needed either the restraining or directing hand of government. This is about the last place that we should expect to give birth to any one who should startle the community or aid in startling the world.

And yet on some subjects these people thought seriously and profoundly. The slavery question was to them one of absorbing interest. On it they read and meditated. To many of them it was a source of education. They became familiar with all the anti-slavery arguments. To "remember those in bonds as bound with them," was for them invested with all the force a direct command from Mt. Sinai. Opposition to slavery grew with the passing years and the appeals of Lundy and Garrison found a fervid response in this farming community.

We have heard much of the "isolation of the rural districts." This did not apply to the region of which we write in the three decades before the Civil War, for it was located in Columbiana County and only six miles distant was the town of Salem, a center of anti-slavery agitation, from which radiated the itineraries of the agents of the Western Anti-Slavery Society.



FARM OF JOSHUA COPPOCK, NEAR WINONA, OHIO

In this community, when the movement was in full swing, the Coppoc brothers, Edwin and Barclay, were born. Their grandfather John Coppock and his wife moved to Mount Pleasant, then in the Northwestern Territory, but one year later in the state of Ohio. In the year following, 1803, he moved to what in 1806 became Butler Township, Columbiana County, Ohio.

John Coppock was descended from Aaron Coppock, of Cheshire, England, who was born August 19, 1662 and came to America in 1683. He was a minister of the gospel forty-two years. His son John, born July 1, 1709, married Margaret Coulston. To them were born five children. The youngest son, Samuel, born November 3, 1748, married Anne Stillwell. Their oldest son, John, born November 4, 1776, married Catherine Kirk. Their son, Samuel, married Anne Lynch. Of this union six children were born, Levi, Maria, Edwin, Barclay, Lydia and Joseph L. Levi and the two daughters died before they reached the age of twenty-five years. Joseph L. Coppoc saw very active service in the Civil War and rose to the rank of major. He was for many years a minister in the Baptist church. A number of children survive him.¹

The sons of Samuel Coppock spelled their family name Coppoc, omitting the final k. A cousin explains the change in spelling as follows: Levi, the oldest son of the family, who died in his twenty-fourth year, was an expert speller and inclined to favor simplified spelling, which even at that early day had a few advocates. He and his brothers and sisters omitted the k in spelling the family name, but their father always retained it. While there seems to have been no authority for changing the name from "Coppock" to "Coppoc," this latter

spelling will be used in the names of those who had adopted it. In other words, each person will be accepted as authority on the spelling of his own name.

It will be seen that the Coppocks were of colonial ancestry. They came from Pennsylvania to that part of the Northwest Territory which afterward became Ohio.

Edwin Coppoc, the third child of Samuel and Catherine (Kirk) Coppock, was born in Butler Township, Columbiana County, Ohio, June 30, 1835. His brother Barclay was born at the same place January 4, 1839. Their father died when the boys were young. They grew up under the influence of a devout mother, grandparents and other relatives. The father died early in 1842, leaving a wife and six children, ranging in ages from one to ten years. In the spring of 1842, a few months after the death of his father, Edwin was placed with John Butler, a farmer of sterling character with whom he remained for eight years. During this time he attended school in the winter and performed the work that usually fell to the lot of farmer boys in the neighborhood.

The years from 1842 to 1850 were eventful. They covered not only the brief period of the Mexican war but the anti-slavery agitation which had been intensified by the results of that war, including a substantial extension of slave territory, and the exciting debates in Congress leading up to the enactment of the Fugitive Slave Law. It is needless to say that discussion of the burning question of the hour was carried on almost without interruption in the Quaker communities of Ohio and much that was said sank deep in the receptive minds of the young. The talk in front of the ample fireplace,

at the table, in the church and on the rostrum turned upon the wrongs of those in bonds and the aggressions of the slave power. To all this Edwin Coppoc was an attentive and serious listener. His impressions were lasting; what he heard had much to do with what he became when he reached young manhood's estate.

At the age of fifteen years, somewhat to the regret of Mr. Butler, young Coppoc went to Springdale, Iowa, in what was then known as the far West, to join his mother who had married a man by the name of Raley and was re-establishing a home for her children. She was a woman of native intelligence and strong convictions. Already she had known the trials and vicissitudes of life. She had lost the sight of one eye when she was a child and the other was beginning to fail. Two daughters and a son were soon to follow their father to the grave. As Edwin grew into sturdy young manhood she looked to him as a source of comfort and support. He was industrious, frugal and bade fair to become a successful farmer in the new western home. In 1859, Thomas Winn of Springdale, Iowa, wrote of him:

"He came to Iowa with his widowed mother some seven or eight years ago and settled here. I have been well and intimately acquainted with him and the whole family during the greater part of the time mentioned. For more than a year Edwin was an inmate of my family, [I] having employed him as a hired hand on a farm, in which capacity he discharged his duties most faithfully, and I can truly say that by his uniform industry, correct habits and amiable deportment he gained the confidence and esteem of every member of my family. His reputation has always been good as an honest, truth-speaking, straightforward, industrious person."²

In a similar vein, Charles Adams, of Philadelphia, in December of the same year wrote of Edwin and his mother in part as follows:

The numeral referances are to notes on pages 450-451.

"About three years since, I visited Iowa and was at his mother's house in Springdale settlement: her sons were then at home; Edwin was a farmer, owned a team of oxen and followed breaking prairie. He was industrious and much respected, and had the reputation of being thrifty and attending closely to his business. He broke some prairie for me also, and from his manner and appearance and his mother's representation of him as a dutiful and attentive son, I took quite an interest in him. In December *last*, I had business again in Iowa, and dined at his mother's house. Edwin had been on a visit to some of his relatives in Kansas and returned the day before — so that I dined with him also: He then talked of renting a farm in the spring, and I inferred that it was his intention to marry.

"The mother is a member of the Society of Friends, [orthodox] and is largely and respectably connected in New Jersey and Pennsylvania. She is an *exemplary woman* and has been visited with many and grievous afflictions, lost one eye in her childhood and is now nearly blind. Of six children three have died of consumption."²

Late in December, 1857, an event of unusual importance occurred in the village of Springdale. It was the arrival of John Brown and his party on their way from Kansas to Canada preparatory to the attack on Harper's Ferry. It had not been the intention of John Brown to stop long at Springdale. He had expected to press on to Ashtabula County, Ohio, as soon as he could sell his teams and wagons and thus realize sufficient money to proceed on the journey by rail. Times were very hard, however, and he could not raise sufficient money to proceed. While cash was scarce, food in this Iowa village was abundant and he found that it would be much cheaper to winter there than to continue eastward.

Besides he found the people of this community in hearty accord with his anti-slavery views. Springdale was settled by the Quakers, a number of them from Ohio. An Iowa writer thus describes the early settlers:

"Among the first residents were John H. Painter, a Quaker, who came in 1849; and Anne Coppoc, a Quakeress, and Dr. H. C. Gill who came in 1850. During the next few years many came, almost all of them Quakers; so that when visited by Brown and his band in 1857, it was a thriving Quaker settlement. Its one street, which in fact is but a part of the public highway, is bordered on either hand by modest frame houses surrounded by spacious yards and shaded by overhanging branches of trees. On all sides of the village the green and undulating fields stretch away to the horizon. Within its homes the pleasant 'thee' and 'thy' of the Quaker are constantly heard; and there prevails an air of peace and serenity which is inexpressibly soothing and comforting."

It was not, of course, the natural beauty of the place and surrounding country that especially appealed to Brown and his followers but the friendly attitude of the people who threw open their homes and bade the storm beaten little expedition of anti-slavery warriors a cordial welcome.

John Brown himself lived, while in Springdale, with John H. Painter, a Quaker who became his staunch friend. His men, however, were quartered in the home of William Maxson about three miles distant from the village. Here they found a haven of rest and social enjoyment that contrasted sharply with the excitement and turmoil of the border warfare in Kansas. Maxson was not a Quaker but an ardent abolitionist.

They had regular camp duties to perform under the direction of Aaron D. Stevens, one of their number who had served in the United States army and was an ideal instructor in military tactics. The men began their daily work at five o'clock in the morning. Immediately following breakfast they took up their studies and continued until about ten o'clock. Books were then laid aside and the remainder of the forenoon was devoted to drill in the school of the soldier. A portion

of each afternoon was spent in gymnastics, sword drill and company movements. This training was conducted in an open space close to the Maxson home. There was perhaps a double purpose in this. It was conveniently located with reference to "winter quarters" and the exhibition of arms, "carnal weapons", was not obtruded upon the peace-loving Quakers of the village.

Of course these "conscientious objectors" to the use of arms knew what was in progress at the drill grounds. They also understood in a general way that Brown and his followers believed that slavery must be overthrown by force of arms, but their religious objections to war were very materially modified by the thought that the projected warfare was to be launched against the institution of slavery, which they considered the supreme iniquity of the age. They were in full sympathy with Brown in the object to be attained and while they did not approve they were disposed to excuse the means by which he sought to achieve the end. Had he and his followers come on a mission to return fugitive slaves to their masters, they would have found Springdale at this time a most inhospitable abiding place. With a community of views on the slavery question as a basis, there were other considerations that aroused in the people of this pioneer village additional interest in their guests. Had not these young men and their chieftain already achieved fame on the plains of Kansas? These were the heroes of Black Jack and Ossawatimie, who had opposed the border ruffians from Missouri. Free State papers and the *New York Tribune* had brought the news to the community. Besides, the new comers by their social deportment and their manifest interest in literary attainment most

favorably impressed their Quaker friends, especially those of about their own age. Kagi was a ready writer, a skillful debater and an able speaker. Cook was of a poetic temperament, fluent and impressive on the rostrum. Richard Raelf had already written poetry of genuine merit, was a born orator and a lecturer who was heard with genuine pleasure. He had come from England, had travelled much, was reputed to have been the protege of Lady Byron and it was even hinted that he was related to her husband, the famous poet. That he was a youth with claim to native genius is attested by the substantial volume of his poetry that was collected and published after his death by his friend, Colonel Richard J. Hinton. All the members of the little band had had thrilling experiences on the border which furnished interesting narratives for the long winter evenings around the hospitable firesides. In addition to this all of the men, except John Brown himself, were young and of attractive personality.

Brown's men found a pleasing diversion in organizing and successfully conducting a literary or debating society. Tuesday and Friday evenings of each week were set aside for this purpose. A mock legislature was organized which included not only their own number but interested young men in the community who wished to take part. Irving B. Richman thus describes the work of this moot body:

"The sessions were held either in the large sitting room of the Maxsons, or in the larger room of the district school building, a mile and a half away. There were a speaker, a clerk of the House, and regular standing committees. Bills were introduced, referred, reported back, debated with intense earnestness and no little ability, and finally brought to a vote. Kagi was the keenest debater and Raelf and Cook orators of very considerable powers."³

It is scarcely necessary to state that from the day of the arrival of these guests, Edwin and Barclay Coppoc were sympathetic observers and listeners. "They both took much interest in Brown, his men and his cause, and at length enlisted under his leadership."

If these two boys and the good people of Springdale were favorably impressed with John Brown and his men in the winter of 1857-58 and shed tears when they took their departure on April 27 of the latter year, it will be readily understood that great interest was aroused by the arrival, on February 25, 1859, of John Brown and a part of his faithful band with the eleven negroes whom he had liberated in his famous foray into Missouri. Was this not a practical demonstration of the efficacy of Brown's plans? Here were the men, women and children that he had delivered from the land of bondage, now well on their way to freedom under the protecting folds of the British flag. The dusky charges were distributed among the homes of Springdale and here for a time they rested before starting on the final stage of their journey to freedom. To the young men of the village especially there was a strong appeal in this spectacular exploit and its antecedent adventure.

But among the older citizens of Springdale misgivings began to find guarded expression. The news came that the United States authorities were on the trail of this band of liberators, that a large reward had been offered for the capture of Brown.

The officers of the government might appear at any time. The young men of the village, a number of them, were ready to take up arms to prevent the return of the slaves and the awful possibility loomed up of a pitched and bloody battle in the streets of Springdale. The

Quakers, of course, did not wish to witness this. They were not yet ready for the results to which their agitation and teachings were unintentionally but inevitably leading.

Much to their relief the armed conflict did not occur and John Brown with his dusky freedmen, on March 9, left to take the train and continue their journey to Canada. They went to West Liberty, from which station Richman thus graphically describes their departure:

"Huddled together in a little group near the track, stand the negroes, patient, wondering. Near them, leaning on their Sharp's rifles, heavy revolvers in their belts, on the alert, stand Kagi and Stephens. In a few minutes the freight car which has been got with so much trouble, and by not a little prevarication as to the use to which it is to be put, is pushed by a crowd of men down the side-track to a point convenient for the loading. Brown mounts into it and shakes the door and lays hold of the sides that he may judge of its capacity for resistance in case of attack. Clean straw is then brought to him which he spreads over the floor. After this, the negro babes and small children, of whom there are several, are handed up to him and he tenderly deposits them among the straw. The older negroes are next helped in, and all is ready. The passenger train on the Chicago and Rock Island Road rolls in from the west. For a moment there is suspense. Is the United States Marshal on board? No! The train draws out from the station, stops, backs down on the side-track and is coupled to the freight car. Kagi and Stephens get into one of the passenger coaches, and John Brown is leaving Iowa for the last time."³

Many of the Quakers of Springdale heaved an audible sigh of relief when Brown and the negroes departed, but they followed him with ardent prayers for the success of his enterprise and the hope that he might reach Canada in safety and permanently liberate the fugitives without "the snapping of a gun" or the shedding of a drop of blood. It need not be added that there was sincere rejoicing when the news finally came that

the long journey of Brown was successfully accomplished. Among those to whom this news was especially gratifying were the Coppoc brothers, who had already enlisted in the great adventure, the details of which were rapidly taking shape in the secretive mind of their visionary and indomitable leader.

After the final departure of Brown from Iowa, Edwin and Barclay Coppoc remained for a time in Springdale and then went to visit friends in the old neighborhood near their birthplace south of Salem, Ohio. This is attested by the letter of their uncle, Joshua Coppock, to Governor Wise under date of November 24, 1859, in which he says:

"He [Edwin] lived with John Butler a number of years until his mother went to Iowa where he remained the most of the time until last spring. He came back and worked here for some time and went from here to Kansas."²

Edwin Coppoc in his last letter to his uncle Joshua also refers to this visit:

"Your generous hospitality towards me during my short stay with you last spring is stamped indelibly upon my heart; and also the generosity bestowed upon my poor brother."

Just what the motive of this visit was is not very clear, but it was certainly fitting that the brothers should visit again the scenes and kindred about their old home before entering upon the enterprise that was to mean so much of loss and gain to each of them.

Early in July, 1859, John Brown wrote a memorandum for Kagi in which occurs the following direction:

"Write Carpenter [supposed to be Edwin Coppoc] and Hazlett that we are all right and ready as soon as we can get our boarding house fixed; we will write them to come and by what route."⁴

On July 25 Barclay Coppoc is reported to have said to his mother:

"We are going to start for Ohio today."

"Ohio," said his mother, "I believe you are going with old Brown. When you get the halters round your necks will you think of me?"

After they left Springdale little was heard of them until the village was thrilled and the country was startled with the news of the attack on Harper's Ferry.

The exact date of the arrival of the brothers at the Kennedy Farm in Virginia, where John Brown's men were assembling for the attack on Harper's Ferry, is not definitely known. They were probably there before the end of the first week in August, however, and did not leave for excursions to any great distance before the night of the attack. Brown's men did not all live at the Kennedy Farm but it was the rendezvous of the band and the Coppocs were among the regular boarders.

As early as July 19, Annie Brown, afterward Annie Brown Adams, the daughter of John Brown, and Martha, the wife of his son Oliver, came to take charge of the housekeeping at the Kennedy Farm. Both were young; the former only sixteen and the latter seventeen years old. Years later Mrs. Adams gave interesting accounts of life on the Farm from the date of their arrival to September 19, when they left for their home in North Elba, New York. Colonel Richard J. Hinton in his *John Brown and His Men*, quotes one of her accounts at length. In writing of the evenings on the Farm she says:

"All questions on religion or any other subject were very freely discussed by the men, and father always took an interested part in the discussions, and encouraged every one to express his opinion on any subject, no matter whether he agreed with him or

not. Stevens had a copy of Paine's 'Age of Reason' there; that was read by some of the men and discussed. Father subscribed for the *Baltimore Sun*, and Kagi used to send down a bundle of papers and magazines from Chambersburg when the wagon went up. They had a manual of military tactics that was studied a good deal. Cook obtained directions for browning or coloring rifle-barrels in the arsenal at Harper's Ferry, and the men spent a part of the time in this work on their Sharp's rifle-barrels, making belts, pistol holsters, etc. They also played checkers, cards, and other games, and sang a deal of the time. Stevens and Tidd were very fine singers, the former having an excellent baritone. They often sang 'All the Old Folks Are Gone,' substituting 'All the Dear Ones' for the first words; 'Faded Flowers,' and 'Nearer My God to Thee.'"⁴

The days of August slipped away. September came and long before it waned the men of Brown's party began to grow impatient at the delay. Each had to be constantly on his guard to avoid suspicion which was ever rife near the boundary between the free and the slave states. Efforts of slaves to escape from their masters in this region were not infrequent and the agents of the Underground Railroad were increasingly active.

The days of September were finally gone and time moved on with leaden feet through the early days of October. In the meantime commissions were issued to a number of Brown's men, designating the rank of each in the little army to be formed if the raid should prove successful. Following is a copy of the one issued to Edwin Coppoc:

No. 10.

GREETING

HEAD-QUARTERS WAR-DEPARTMENT

NEAR HARPER'S FERRY, MD.

WHEREAS, EDWIN COPPOC has been nominated a Lieutenant of Company in the Army Established under the PROVISIONAL CONSTITUTION,

NOW, THEREFORE, In pursuance of the authority vested in Us by said Constitution, We do hereby Appoint and Commission the said EDWIN COPPOC a Lieutenant.

Given at the office of the Secretary of War, this day, October 13, 1859.

JOHN BROWN, *Commander-in-chief.*

H. KAGY, *Secretary of War.*

At last on Sunday night, October 16, nineteen men fully armed marched from the Kennedy Farm. Edwin Coppoc was among the number. Barclay remained behind with Merriam and Owen Brown to guard arms and stores.

Onward in silence under the shades of night the resolute little band marched into Harper's Ferry. In accordance with previous plans, carefully laid, Albert Hazlett and Edwin Coppoc took charge of the United States armory as soon as the guards there were overpowered and made prisoners. Long before dawn of the next day Harper's Ferry, the United States arsenal, the rifle works, the engine house and the approaches to the town were in the hands of the invaders. As the startled inhabitants awoke they realized that they were captives in the hands of an unknown military force. The story of the fighting that followed on those memorable days, October 17 and 18, between Brown and his followers and the Virginia militia and the United States marines under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Robert E. Lee, now in a uniform of blue but later in a uniform of gray and commander-in-chief of the Confederate army, has been told often in graphic detail and need not here be dwelt upon at length. On the day following the attack Edwin Coppoc was driven under fire from the armory into the engine house where John Brown made his last stand, fighting the infuriated Virginians and

the marines as they battered in the doors behind which he and the remnant of his followers were beaten down and captured. Strange to say, Edwin was not even wounded.

Jesse W. Graham, a workman in the United States armory and a captive of John Brown, related this interesting incident of the siege of the engine house, after the arrival of the marines under Lieutenant Colonel Robert E. Lee:

"Early on Tuesday morning I peeped out of a hole and saw Colonel Lee, whom I had seen before at the Ferry, standing close by with the troops behind him. A negro stood near him, holding a large military cloak. Just then Edwin Coppoc thrust me aside, and thrust the muzzle of his gun into the hole, drawing a bead on Lee. I interposed, putting my hand on the rifle and begging the man not to shoot, as that was Colonel Lee, of the United States army, and if he were hurt the building would be torn down and they'd all be killed. Green again put up his pistol and Coppoc readjusted his rifle. During this momentary altercation, Robert E. Lee had stepped aside, and thus his life was saved to the slaveholder's Confederacy."⁴

Shortly after the capture of the engine house, S. K. Donovan, the first newspaper correspondent on the ground after the raid commenced, impressed with the apparent youth of Edwin Coppoc, his bearing and frank face that seemed out of harmony with the tragic experiences of the last two days and nights went up to him and said:

"My God, boy, what are you doing at a place like this?"

"'With remarkable coolness' said Donovan 'the boy answered, as I recall the words, I believe in the principles that we are trying to advance and I have no apologies for being here. I think it is a good place to be.'"

The capture took place on the morning of October 18. Coppoc was held with the other prisoners in the

armory guard room until noon of the following day and then taken with them to the jail at Charlestown, Virginia, the seat of justice of the county in which the raid occurred.*

Governor Henry A. Wise, of Virginia, went on the train that carried the prisoners. Years afterward, Rev. Joseph L. Coppoc, a younger brother who was not at Harper's Ferry, in a magazine article said:

"While on the train carrying the prisoners from Harper's Ferry to Charlestown, Governor Wise approached my brother and eyeing him a moment said to him, 'You look like too honest a man to be found with a band of robbers.'

"'But, Governor,' he replied, 'we look upon you as the robbers.'"

It was while in jail that Edwin wrote to Dr. H. C. Gill and other friends at Springdale, Iowa, a characteristic letter containing a tribute to his comrades and a description of the fight as he saw it. Following are the essential portions of the letter:

"And with them are the forms and faces of those that, to me, were more than comrades, who fell in the fearful struggle. Eleven of our little band are sleeping now in their bloody garments with the cold earth above them. Braver men never lived; truer men to the plighted word never banded together. Five of them fell while fighting in self-defense for the cause for which they had enlisted; three on the afternoon of the 17th; the first a negro by the name of Dangerfield Newby; he fell on the street by my side, whilst we were running to the aid of some of our friends who were surrounded by the enemy. Two men, Steward Taylor and Oliver Brown, fell by the engine-house. Taylor lived about three hours after he was shot; he suffered very much

* F. B. Sanborn quotes Coppec as making the following statement to the Virginians after his capture:

"I am a Republican philanthropist and came here to aid in liberating negroes. I made the acquaintance of Captain Brown in Iowa as he returned from Kansas, and agreed to join his company. Brown wrote to me in July to come on to Chambersburg, where he first revealed the whole plot. The whole company was opposed to making the first demonstration at Harper's Ferry, but Captain Brown would have it his own way, and we had to obey orders."

and begged of us to kill him. Oliver died in about fifteen minutes after he was shot; he said nothing. During these last moments we could not administer to their wants such as they deserved, for we were surrounded by the troops who were firing volley after volley, so that we had to keep up a brisk fire in return to keep them from charging upon us. Two more fell in the engine-house on the morning of the 18th, when the last charge was made — Jeremiah Anderson and Dolph Thompson.

"They both had surrendered after the first charge, which was repulsed, but, owing to the noise and confusion, they were not heard. Captain Brown and I were the only ones that fought to the last. The negro Green, after I had stationed him behind one of the engines, the safest place in the house, laid down his rifle and pulled off his cartridge-box, and passed himself off for one of the prisoners. He and I were the only ones not wounded.

"Watson Brown was wounded about 10 o'clock on Monday at the same time Stevens was, while passing along the street with a flag of truce, but was not so badly wounded but he got back in the engine-house. During the fight in the afternoon he fought as brave as ever any man fought, but as soon as the fight was over he got worse. When we were taken in the morning he was just able to walk. He and Green and myself were put in the watch-house. Watson kept getting worse from then until about three o'clock Wednesday morning when he died. I did everything in my power to make him comfortable. He begged hard for a bed, but could not get one, so I pulled off my coat and put it under him, and placed his head in my lap, and in that position he died.

"Cook and Tidd had left the Ferry early in the morning, by order of Captain Brown, to cross the river for the purpose of taking some prisoners and to convey the arms to a schoolhouse about one and a half miles from the Ferry, there to guard them until the Captain came, but, hearing a heavy firing, Cook went down to learn the cause. On gaining the side of the river opposite the Ferry, he found we were surrounded, so he ascended the mountain in order to get a better view; while there he saw parties firing on us. In order to relieve us he fired on them and in doing so he drew the fire on himself, the result of which was the cutting of a limb and giving him a fall of about fifteen feet down the mountain side, tearing his clothes, and lacerating his flesh. There were thirty or forty men in the first party he fired on who, after the second shot, were taken with a sudden leaving, having no doubt important business elsewhere. The Virginians who were present give him the credit of being a splendid shot at a long range, as they admit they made a very near acquaintance with some of his bullets.

"But enough of this. Whatever may be our fate, rest assured we shall not shame our dead companions by a shrinking fear. They lived and died like brave men. We, I trust, shall do the same. And our souls with no sin of intention on their robes will gaze unmoved upon the scaffold and the tomb. We were deceived in some things. Even Captain Brown acknowledges that; but all is over now, so let it pass. There are true and brave men in Virginia who deeply sympathize with us in our misfortune. I suppose within the last two days from eight hundred to one thousand persons have visited us, some through sympathy, but more through animosity.

"Among those who called to-day were three young ladies from Harper's Ferry, friends and acquaintances of Cook. They stood and gazed on us for a moment with deep earnestness and then burst into tears. One of them told Cook that all of his friends and acquaintances at the Ferry had formed the highest opinion of him and regretted he should have gone into such a scheme. They parted from us with tear-dimmed eyes and the deepest expression of sympathy for us in our sad position. * * * I have not seen the Captain or Stevens since our trials, but the jailer tells me they are doing well; their wounds will soon be healed. J. E. Cook sends his love to all."⁴

Edwin Coppoc was brought into court for arraignment chained to his old leader, John Brown. His trial immediately followed that of Brown. When asked if he had anything to say why sentence should not be passed, he spoke briefly as follows:

"The charges that have been made against me are not true. I never committed any treason against the State of Virginia. I never made war upon it. I never conspired with anybody to induce your slaves to rebel and I never even exchanged a word with any of your servants. What I came here for I always told you. It was to run off slaves to a free state and liberate them. This is an offense against your laws, I admit, but I never committed murder. When I escaped to the engine house and found the captain and his prisoners surrounded there, I saw no way of deliverance but by fighting a little. If anyone was killed on that occasion it was in fair fight. I have, as I said, committed an offense against your laws, but the punishment for that offense would be very different from what you are going to inflict now. I have no more to say."⁵

The meditations of this youth while in prison doubtless took a wide range. There were hours of regret and the feeling that his allegiance to the cause of freedom did not require or justify the hazardous enterprise on which he had embarked. There were recurrent hours of sadness that he should have taken up and used arms against his fellowman, in violation of the principles that had guided his early life at home and in the church. Then there was the natural longing at times for the peace and comfort that he had known on the farm in Columbiana County or later with his mother at Springdale. In such reflective mood he penned the following letter :

“CHARLESTOWN, Nov. 5th, 1859.

“Dear Mother and Father: It is with much sorrow that I now address you, and under very different circumstances than I ever expected to be placed, but I have seen my folly too late and must now suffer the consequences, which I suppose will be death, but which I shall try and bear as every man should; though it would be a source of much comfort to me to have died at home. It has always been my desire, that, when I came to die, my last breath should be among my friends; that in my last moments they could be near me to console me. But alas! such is not my fate. I am condemned and must die a dishonorable death, among my enemies, and hundreds of miles from home.

“I hope you will not reflect on me for what I have done, for I am not at fault, at least my conscience tells me so, and there are others that feel as I do. We were led into it by those that ought to have known better, but who did not anticipate any danger; but after stopping at Harper’s Ferry we were surrounded and compelled to fight, to save our own lives, for we saw our friends falling on all sides. Our leader would not surrender and there seemed to be no other resort than to fight, though I am happy to say that no one fell by my hand, and am sorry to say that I was ever induced to raise a gun. I was not looking for such a thing. I am sorry, very sorry, that such has been the case. Never did I suppose that my hand would be guilty of raising a gun against my fellow men. After our capture, which was on the morning of the 18th, we were kept there until the

evening of the 19th when we were removed to this place, where we have been ever since. We are well cared for. The jailer seems to do all he can to make us comfortable.

"Nov. 6th. — I have just finished a letter to Mr. Painter, which I expect to send out tomorrow with this. I sent one yesterday to Dr. Gill, stating to him that it was not worth while for any of you to come, but on thinking more about it, I concluded that I would like to see some one from there, so tomorrow I intend to telegraph for the Doctor to come.

"I have written J. Painter and told him what to do with my land, but whatever money is spent by anyone coming here, I wish to have it replaced out of the land.

"The captain has had some apple pies and preserves sent him from Ohio, by some friends. I presume they do not go bad though I have not had a taste.

"If the Doctor has not started when this gets there, and you have any sweet cakes or other nick-nacks, just send them along. They will go very good here between the iron bars. We get plenty to eat here, but *it is not from home*. It is not baked by the hands of those we love at home, or by those whom I never expect to see.

"I don't feel like writing more. I hope and trust the Doctor will come, and if anything is in the way so he cannot come, I hope some one else will come in his stead. I believe I have nothing more to say. This may be the last letter you may get from me. If it is, think of me as one who thought he was doing right.

"Give my love to Brigss' and Maxsons' folks and to all inquiring friends for [of] such I feel I have a large circle, and I trust that what I have done will not make them enemies. My love to all the family.

No more,
EDWIN COPPOC."⁵

In prison and condemned to die, Coppoc was yet jealous of the honorable reputation he had borne in the communities where he had lived. An anonymous writer had sent to the New York *Tribune* a letter which had been published in that paper, derogatory of his character. This was copied in many papers including the *Virginia Free Press*, published in Charlestown. To this letter Edwin Coppoc replied through the same paper in

a communication bearing date of November 14, 1859, as follows:

"MR. EDITOR: I see in your last issue, a letter purporting to come from Salem, Ohio, which was published in the New York *Tribune*. In regard to the statements which are made in that letter, which place my character in an unenviable light before the public, I will only say, that they are fake from beginning to end. Any person, who under the circumstances in which I am placed, would stoop so low as to circulate such a libel about a doomed man, places himself below the level of the brute. And then the base and cowardly manner in which it has been done bears at once the mark of fakehood on its front. No name has been signed, but simply the letter S. at the conclusion. If he was a man; if he was telling the truth, why was he afraid to sign his name to it? It is true, my Father died when I but six years of age, when I went to live with John Butler four miles from Salem, Ohio, and with whom I lived nine years, and might have remained until the present time, had not my mother wished me to go with her and the other members of our family to Springdale, Cedar County, Iowa, where I remained till the spring of 1858, when I went to Kansas for the express purpose of purchasing some land. I took no part in the difficulties of Kansas, and never, while there, had any association or acquaintance with Capt. Brown or any of his company. I remained in Kansas till the following autumn, when I returned to Iowa. I had no acquaintance with Capt. Brown until last winter, and last spring agreed to join him, while he was at Springfield [Springdale]. In regard to the truth of my statement I will refer you to Mr. John Butler, my former guardian, Amos Fossit, and David Parker, William Fisher, Jacob Heaton, Isaac Carr, and William Mead, all of Salem, Ohio, and its neighborhood. In Springdale, Cedar County, Iowa I would refer [to] Messrs. Thomas Winn, P. M., Dr. H. C. Gill, Thomas James, Emmor Rood, Jesse Bowersock, John Parynive, Moses Varney, Nathan Tabor, James Schooler, Ebenezer Gray, Steven Dean and William Madison, all of Springdale and its vicinity. In Pedee, of the same county and state, I would refer to William Street, P. M., Samuel Moore, John Moore, Preston Roberts, and Burton Gifford. In Pardee, Atchison County, Kansas Territory, I would refer to Dr. Moore, P. M., James Booth, Amos D. Taylor, Mahlon Oliphant, Benjamin Ball, William Cummings and Richard Allen. If these are not references enough I can give you ten for every one I have here named, who will testify to the falsity of the statements of the cowardly calumniator, who has written from Salem, Ohio.

"By giving the above an insertion in your paper you will greatly oblige, —Yours truly,

EDWIN COPPOC."²

In contradiction to the anonymous letter, John Butler made a statement which appeared in the Salem (Ohio) *Republican* of November 29, 1859. The following excerpt is here reproduced:

"* * * In the spring of 1842 his mother applied to me to take Edwin into my family and have the care of him, he then being, as we supposed, near seven years old, his father having died a few months previous to that time. He accordingly came without any time being fixed then how long he should remain and stayed with us until the spring of 1850, during which time there was nothing particular to remark in point of character, except that he gave evidences of an unusually strong will in trying to carry out his own views and also that he was very *fearless*, never manifesting anything like cowardice in times of danger or by night. He was a very industrious and careful boy, more careful and particular that everything was kept in its proper place on the farm and about the buildings and to have his work done well and prompt to have it done in a given time, than is common for boys of his age. * * *"

In the meantime strenuous efforts were made to save Edwin's life. His previous good record, his deportment in prison, his courage and frankness, together with the large number of highly respectable Quaker friends who interceded in his behalf, appealed very strongly to the Virginia authorities, including Prosecutor Hunter, Judge Parker and Governor Wise. Thomas Winn, a Quaker friend of the Coppoc family from Springdale, took the lead in the effort to have the sentence commuted to life imprisonment. And most adroitly and effectively he pressed the plea for mercy. In reading the papers he presented, one cannot fail to be impressed with the persuasive power that he brought to bear to accomplish his great desire. Himself a consistent

Quaker who was opposed to the settlement of any question by the arbitrament of war, he was in a position to disclaim all sympathy with the armed invasion of Virginia. The following extract from his letter to Governor Wise, dated "Springdale, Cedar County, Iowa, 11th mo. 4th, 1859," indicates the line of his plea:

"Edwin Coppoc is a Quaker by birth and education although not strictly a member of that body of Christians. He has mingled almost daily in the society of those who in relation to the vexed question of slavery and other questions of public interest, are known by all the world to believe in and pray for a *peaceful solution* of surrounding difficulties as alone desirable and most truly calculated to secure the Divine favor. Knowing this I cannot but believe that his being found at Harper's Ferry in a course of conduct so totally repugnant to all his previous modes of thought and action must have been the result of a temporary alienation of mind, something akin to insanity, if not insanity itself. I have no sort of sympathy whatever for the leaders in this movement. In my opinion all such proceedings involve a grievous wrong, and result in serious and widespread mischief to both sections of our common country. They must be condemned by all right-thinking persons.

"In the case of Edwin Coppoc, however, there are mitigating circumstances which I have endeavored to bring into view and I beg the Governor to take these calmly into consideration. I feel encouraged to invoke thy friendly offices in his behalf, on the score of his youth and inexperience, and because having known him from his boyhood I am constrained to believe that in embarking on the enterprise he was not in his right mind and had no adequate conception of its character. * * * I believe Edwin to be incapable of doing, intentionally, a mean or unworthy action. Indeed there is a native nobility of character about him which I think must have been observed by those who have been brought into contact with him since the sad event which we all deplore. I fervently hope, therefore, that his life may not be taken. * * * Surely in a case like this the 'Old Dominion' can well afford to be magnanimous. * * * In the consciousness of her strength, let her pity this child's weakness. Spare the fatherless boy to his poor, broken-hearted mother now fast passing into the evening of her days — then shall the language be truly applicable, 'The blessing of him that

was ready to perish came upon me and I caused the widow's heart to sing with joy.'

"Very respectfully and truly thy friend,

THOMAS WINN,
Postmaster of Springdale."²

Mr. Winn afterward went to Harper's Ferry, Charlestown and Richmond, Virginia. On his arrival in the last named city he at once addressed a letter to Governor Wise in a friendly and grateful vein, expressing the hope that his mission might be successful. He wrote in part:

"On my arrival in Charlestown, 30th ult. I immediately reported myself to Andrew Hunter, Esq., and was most cordially received by him and his excellent family. I frankly stated to them the object of my visit to Virginia, and my hopes were greatly strengthened at finding that their sympathies were already kindly enlisted on behalf of Edwin. The fact of his youth, and having been undoubtedly deluded into John Brown's wicked schemes without a full appreciation of their true nature and extent; his uniformly good conduct since his confinement in jail, and the unexceptionable character of his correspondence, had already produced a favorable impression. 'He is the *best* of all our prisoners,' said Mr. Hunter to me. 'I give him all the letters that come for him. I find them so entirely unexceptionable.' It was also very gratifying to learn that Judge Parker was inclined to a *merciful view* of this case, and that the feeling of sympathy is general and the desire freely expressed by influential persons that Edwin's sentence might be commuted.

"At Harper's Ferry I found the same sentiment existed. Armistead Ball and some other gentlemen to whom I was introduced stating very clearly their belief that no one fell by Edwin's hand, and that his conduct throughout was very different from that of those with whom he had (although but for a brief period) most unfortunately connected himself, and concluded by expressing the hope and *belief* that Governor Wise would commute his punishment."²

That these letters and petitions had much weight with the Governor is evidenced by the remarks of Hon. A. H. H. Stuart, who on December 12, 1859, presented to the Virginia Senate and House of Delegates the

memorial of Thomas Winn, asking for commutation of the death sentence of Edwin Coppoc. Mr. Stuart said in part:

"I called to see the Governor, and he authorized me to say that, from his personal knowledge, and from information gathered by him during his stay in Charlestown, the case of this man stands upon a very different footing from that of the other individuals who have been sentenced. He informs me that he is a youth of about 23 years of age and that he has borne an unexceptionable character up to the time of the difficulty. There are present here in our lobby several members of the Society of Friends, who have an intimate knowledge of this man since he was seven years of age. * * * These gentlemen inform me that he was their trusted agent in the transaction of business, and frequently in the collection of money, and that in all circumstances he acquitted himself with fidelity and truthfulness. They express the deepest sympathy for him and the Governor informs me, moreover, that this young man, while he was in the engine house at Harper's Ferry, was the means of saving the lives of the prisoners * * * that he frequently remonstrated with them about the exposure of their persons and pointed out places of safety which he insisted they should occupy, while he remonstrated against the murder of others on the street by some of his associates. I know nothing of the facts myself, * * * I give them to you as they have been communicated to me."⁶

Mr. Thomas of Fairfax, in discussing the report of the legislative committee on the memorial of Thomas Winn, made an even more explicit statement of the favorable attitude of Governor Wise:

"The Governor of Virginia appeared before the committee and enlightened that body very much in reference to the action and extent of Coppoc's guilt in the Harper's Ferry affair so far as it was known to him. He said, moreover, that from his knowledge of Coppoc's relation to the whole movement, and particularly his course with reference to the prisoners whom Brown had captured, he would have taken upon himself the responsibility of commuting his sentence to imprisonment for life, though in that act he should not have the approval or sanction of a single individual in the State. And this he said he would do because he believed the act to be just and right."⁶

Among the papers of Governor Wise is the petition of Thomas Winn endorsed by the governor as follows:

"This man's plea for Coppoc coincides with my own view of the case, from his confession to me in this:—that he is the only one entitled to the least mercy. Whether he is, is questionable."

Novm. 15, 1859.

H. A. WISE."²

This was written before Winn's visit to Virginia. Later the Governor was confirmed in his view and recommended the commutation of Coppoc's sentence as indicated in the address of Mr. Thomas.

In an interview published in the *St. Louis Globe-Democrat*, as late as 1888, Andrew Hunter referring to the persistence of an "old gentleman," evidently Thomas Winn, gives the following interesting reminiscence:

"When he (Coppoc) was in jail an old gentleman came all the way from his people to see him, bringing him a pound cake to comfort him. The old gentleman stopped at my house on the way in, and I advised him to wait until I went down town, but he would hurry on ahead with his pound cake, and when I got down, sure enough, he was in the guard house, as I anticipated. I got him out and passed him into the jail, with the cake for Coppoc. After he had visited the prisoner, he went all the way to Richmond to intercede. I believe he would have got commutation for Coppoc if I had not shown that treason could not be pardoned."⁶

Among the touching appeals for mercy is a letter from the young man's uncle, Joshua Coppock, dated "Salem the 11 mo. 24th 1859." After explaining his relationship to the prisoner he said:

"I feel for my dear nephew. I hope thee will not have him hung. * * * Thee will see by his advice to the prisoners in the arsenal to keep out of danger he did not want to see them hurt. Governor Wise, please to read this, and if thee can avoid hanging, do, I entreat thee."²

It was left for Mr. Isbell, the member from the county of Jefferson in the Legislature, to voice the attitude of Virginia, not only toward the imprisoned Harper's Ferry raiders, but toward the North. Because of the representative character of his address, a somewhat extended extract is here presented. Mr. Isbell said:

"This is the first time that so grave an offense has been committed against the state of Virginia, and, so far as I am informed, the first proceeding under the law of treason that has ever taken place. This proceeding sprang from an offense which is calculated to disturb the inhabitants of our whole northern border and it becomes us to make such examples of the marauders now convicted and under sentence as will operate to restore confidence to these people and deter others from similar acts of murder and rapine. It is said, Mr. President, that this man Coppic was deceived as to the motives of John Brown in coming to Virginia. He could not have been deceived. He was one of that band who had put upon his conscience the oath of fidelity to Brown in subverting the government and exciting the slaves to rebellion. He is as much guilty of murder as any man convicted before the courts—as much guilty, if not more guilty, than John Brown himself; for, so far as I am aware, it was not shown in evidence that Brown shot anybody in that struggle. This man Coppic was, moreover, fully cognizant of and participator in the military preparations set on foot at Brown's farm, some months previous to the invasion. He stands precisely in the same position with the other prisoners who were convicted of murder and exciting slaves to rebellion. All of them presented the plea that they came not for the purpose of slaughtering our citizens, but of carrying off their property—with the intention not to commit any act of personal violence upon the people of the commonwealth except when that people decided to resist them in their unlawful course. In view of these facts, Mr. President, I am in favor of withholding, from the executive of this state, the power of pardoning Coppic, or any other of the prisoners convicted at Charlestown for their connection with the Harper's Ferry invasion. But, sir, it is said that having upheld our laws, and enforced our authority—that having vindicated ourselves before the whole country, and shown to the North and to the South, and to the whole world in fact, that we can defend ourselves, and mean to do it, and enforce our laws against whomsoever may dare to violate them—that having presented these vindications to the world we might temper

justice with mercy and pardon these men who have been the greatest offenders against our laws that have ever been brought before our courts for trial. I say that, in the existing relations between the North and South, it becomes rather the duty of Virginia to give notice to the whole world—that he who dares place his foot upon her soil, with the same hellish purpose that actuated the prisoners now in custody at Charlestown, shall hang as high as Haman, and that no mercy shall be accorded to him who comes in the dead of night to murder our citizens. I believe that it is impolitic to extend this pardon to Coppic, or any other of those prisoners. I believe that we shall best subserve our interests by upholding our laws and executing all persons of this class as soon after conviction as may be convenient. While I am a law abiding man, while I have been educated to believe that all criminals should be brought before a court of justice and have the benefit of all the forms of trial, yet, on occasions of this sort, on the spur and excitement of the actual transaction itself, with all these preconceived opinions and feelings, I fear I should almost doubt my ability to insist that the criminals should have the benefit of a trial, should they be taken by our own citizens. For this reason I am utterly opposed, in every aspect in which this case can be presented, to any mercy being shown to this man.”⁶

“In the existing relations between the North and South.” This is the real basis of the fervid appeal of Mr. Isbell. Governor Wise and other individual Virginians in high position might be willing to extend clemency, and under all the circumstances the attitude of the Governor was generous, chivalrous and courageous, but no power could withstand the resolution of the chosen representatives of the commonwealth of Virginia. The “irrepressible conflict” was already on, and the Legislature of Virginia was resolved from the first that no guilty man *from the North* should escape.

Among those who sought other excuse for withholding clemency were some who found it in the publication in the New York *Tribune* of December 12, 1859, of a letter of November —, purporting to have been written from Coppoc to the wife of John Brown. As

this letter has figured somewhat prominently in the case and was referred to in the Legislature when the memorial of Thomas Winn was up for consideration, it is here reproduced in full:

"Mrs. John Brown — Dear Madam: I was very sorry that your request to see the rest of the prisoners was not complied with. Mrs. Avis brought me a book, whose pages are full of truth and beauty, entitled 'Voice of the True-Hearted,' which she told me was a present from you. For this dear token of remembrance, please accept my thanks.

"My comrade, J. E. Cook, and myself, deeply sympathize with you in your sad bereavement. We were both acquainted with Anna and Martha. They were to us as sisters, and as brothers we sympathize with them in the dark hour of trial and affliction.

"I was with your sons when they fell. Oliver lived but a few moments after he was shot. He spoke no word but yielded calmly to his fate. Watson was shot at 10 o'clock on Monday morning, and died about 3 o'clock on Wednesday morning. He suffered much. Though mortally wounded at 10 o'clock, yet at 3 o'clock Monday afternoon he fought bravely against the men who charged on us. When the enemy were repulsed, and the excitement of the charge was over, he began to sink rapidly.

"After we were taken prisoners, he was placed in the guard house with me. He complained of the hardness of the bench on which he was lying. I begged hard for a bed for him, or even a blanket, but could obtain none for him. I took off my coat and placed it under him, and held his head in my lap, in which position he died without a groan or a struggle.

"I have stated these facts, thinking that they may afford to you, and to the bereaved widows they have left, a mournful consolation.

"Give my love to Anna and Martha, with our last farewell.

"Yours truly,

"EDWIN COPPOC."

Some of the members of the Virginia senate spoke of this letter and made certain expressions in it the occasion for their vote in withholding sanction of executive clemency. Thomas Winn was convinced that the publication of this letter at the critical time when it appeared

was the chief influence that turned the scale again the life of Coppoc. In a letter to the widow of John Brown, written January 13, 1860, he says:

"Governor Wise appeared before the committee and ably advocated the commutation of his punishment. Many of the most influential senators were also in favor of it. Unfortunately, however, while the subject was before the Legislature the New York *Tribune* made its appearance, containing a letter signed Edwin Coppic, addressed to thyself, which was used successfully to defeat the application for mercy. Senators objected to the tone of the letter and particularly to the paragraph which speaks of the Virginians as 'enemies' and refused to show him any mercy."¹⁰

Winn states further that Edwin denied writing the letter and said that it had been written by Cook, his fellow prisoner. It is said to have been sent by Mrs. Brown to Winn and soon afterward to have disappeared.

It should be explained in this connection that the letter got into the *Tribune* in an account of the funeral of John Brown at North Elba, New York. Rev. J. M. McKim, in delivering the funeral sermon, read the letter.

It appears that neither Cook nor Coppoc left any written statement in regard to the letter, and in the absence of the original manuscript discussion as to its authorship would probably leave the reader in doubt. It must be admitted, however, that the language is much like that of Coppoc and does not resemble the style of Cook's letters. If Cook wrote it, the motive for not signing it himself, of course, would be that he thought Mrs. Brown would appreciate the letter more if it were not signed by him, but it expresses sentiment and relates experiences that were Coppoc's, not Cook's.

After all it is much more than probable that the

letter had little weight in determining Edwin's fate. The speech of Isbell in any event would have swept away all pleas for mercy. It made Coppoc the chief offender in the raid, and the result would doubtless have been the same regardless of the letter. Virginia at this time was determined to go to the limit in dealing with "invaders and traitors," and to hang "as high as Haman" those who came with arms in their hands to liberate the slave. From the beginning, there was small reason to expect clemency from the Legislature of Virginia. That hope went out when it became known that Governor Wise did not have the power to commute the sentence of Edwin Coppoc.*

The time for his execution was rapidly approaching. On December 13, 1859, he wrote to his uncle, Joshua Coppock, the remarkable letter that deserves to rank among the poignant and prophetic utterances called forth by the long anti-slavery struggle preceding the Civil War. If at other times what he wrote had the tone of regret to be expected from a farmer boy caught in the net of circumstance, this letter reveals the man, mindful still of his impending fate, but sustained by devotion to a cause and faith in the speedy coming of that "glorious day" which he could see in vision almost from the platform of the scaffold. Following is the letter:

CHARLESTOWN, Dec. 13th, 1859.

"MY DEAR UNCLE:

"I seat myself by the stand, to write for the *first*, and last time, to thee and thy family. Though far from home and overtaken by misfortune, I have not forgotten you. Your generous

* Hazlett and Stevens were not executed until March 16, 1860. The part of the former in the raid was slight and the latter was shot down while bearing a flag of truce, but no mercy was shown to either. Virginia was determined to have the life of each of these condemned men.

hospitality towards me, during my short stay with you last spring, is stamped indelibly upon my heart; and also the generosity bestowed upon my poor brother, who now wanders an outcast from his native land. But thank God he is free. I am thankful that it is I, who has to suffer, instead of him.

"The time may come when he will remember me, and the time may come when he will still further remember the cause in which I die. Thank God, the principles of the cause in which



JOSHUA COPPOCK AND WIFE

we were engaged *will not die with me and my brave comrades* They will spread wider and wider, and gather strength with each hour that passes. The voice of truth will echo through our land, bringing conviction to the erring, and adding *numbers to that glorious army who will follow its banner.* The cause of everlasting truth and justice *will go on conquering, to conquer,* until our broad and beautiful land shall rest beneath the banner of freedom.

"I had hoped to live to see the dawn of that glorious day. I had hoped to live to see the principles of the Declaration of our Independence fully realized. I had hoped to see the dark stain of slavery blotted from our land, and the libel of our boasted

freedom erased, when we can say in truth, that our beloved country is the land of the free, and the home of the brave.

"But this cannot be. I have heard my sentence passed. My doom is sealed. But two more short days remain for me to fulfill my earthly destiny. But two brief days between me and eternity. At the expiration of those two days, I shall stand upon the scaffold to take my last look of earthly scenes, but that scaffold has but little dread for me; for I honestly believe that I am innocent of any crime justifying such punishment. But by the taking of my life, and the lives of my comrades, Virginia is but hastening on that glorious day, when the slave shall rejoice in his freedom. When he can say, *"I too am a man,* and am groaning no more under the yoke of oppression."

"But I must now close. Accept this short scrawl as a remembrance of me. Give my love to all the family. Kiss little Josey for me. Remember me to all my relatives and friends. And now farewell for the last time.

"From thy Nephew,

"EDWIN COPPOC.

"P. S. Thee wished to know who was here with me from Iowa.

"Thomas Winn is here and expects to stay until after the execution; and then will convey my body, to Springdale. It is my wish to be buried there.

"I would of [have] been glad to see thee or any of my other relatives: but it is now too late.

"I did not like to send for any of you, as I did not know whether any of you would be willing to come.

"I will say, for I know that it will be a satisfaction to all of you, that we are all kindly treated and I hope that the North will not fail to give Sheriff Campbell and Captain Avis due acknowledgment for their kind and noble actions."

"E."

"While there is life there is hope," — so runs the trite adage. When Edwin Coppoc wrote the foregoing letter he did not expect to escape execution, but he was even then working out with his fellow prisoner, John E. Cook, a plan devised by them to regain their liberty. Along one side of the cell in which they were confined was a heavy plank, held in place by screws. With the aid of two knives and a long heavy screw taken from

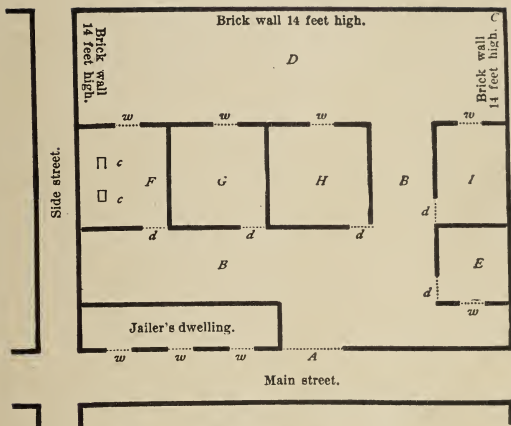
their bedstead they loosened the plank and under the shadow of darkness took out some of the bricks from the jail wall. A few of these were concealed in the bed; others were left loose in the aperture that was forming back of the single outer layer of brick that remained to be removed on the night chosen to make the final effort for freedom.

And a faithful friend was ready to assist, just outside of the prison walls, — an active Free State partisan from Kansas, who had arrived at the Ferry too late to join the followers of John Brown in the attack. His name was Charles Lenhart. In the hope that he might in some way aid his old leader and the other prisoners he took on the disguise of a pro-slavery sympathizer, denounced the raiders, enlisted in the Virginia militia, was present at the execution of John Brown and had remained in Charlestown in the hope that he might be of service to his friends. On the night chosen by Cook and Coppoc for the escape, Lenhart was sentinel at the angle of the jail where they had planned to scale the wall. He of course was not to see them, they were to flee to the mountains — and liberty.*

Thus far fortune had favored their efforts. On the evening of December 14, Lenhart was at the post outside of the prison wall. The shadows of night fell on the valley and over the mountains. The sentry paced

* Colonel Richard J. Hinton, in his *John Brown and His Men*, states that Charles Lenhart was in all probability in the same file of Virginia militiamen with John Wilkes Booth at the execution of John Brown. In his account of the attempted escape of Coppoc and Cook he says: "In the town was a Kansas man, Charles Lenhart, who under disguise was striving to be of service. On the night of the 14th of December, Lenhart was on guard at the angle of the jail wall where, the next night, the spectacle of their heads above its edge created the alarm of a faithful pro-slavery sentinel."

Lenhart enlisted in the Union army at the outbreak of the Civil War, was commissioned lieutenant, and died in the service in 1863.



A Main entrance; *B* Space between walls, Avis's house, and the jail building; *C* Point of wall which Cook and Coppoc reached on the night of Dec. 15th in their attempt to escape; *D* Jail yard *d d d d d*, cell doors; *E* Reception-room; *F* Cell occupied by Brown and Stevens, afterwards by the latter and Hazlett; *G* Cell of Green and Copeland; *H* Cell of Coppoc and Cook; *I* Cell first occupied by Albert Hazlett, *w w w*, *w w*, windows, those of cells look into the jail yard; *c c* cots of Brown and Stevens.

PLAN OF JAIL AT CHARLESTOWN

This plan and the explanation are taken from *John Brown and His Men*, by Colonel Richard J. Hinton, and are here reproduced by special permission of the publishers, Funk and Wagnalls Company.

back and forth eagerly looking through the darkness for the appearance of his friends on top of the wall back of the jail. Anxiously he watched and listened. Midnight, and no sign from the gloomy prison. Slowly and silently passed the hours until a new day faintly dawned over the mountains, — and the imprisoned men did not come forth.

In the meantime Cook and Coppoc were in serious whispered conference in their cell. On the very day preceding this night, Cook's brother-in-law, Governor Ashbel P. Willard, of Indiana, Mrs. Willard, his sister, and a lady friend of the family had called for their final farewell. The parting was very affecting, for Mrs. Willard was strongly attached to her brother. She was so overcome that she and her husband did not leave Charlestown that evening as they had planned.

Cook felt that his escape that night in accordance with the carefully laid plans would involve his brother-in-law and his sister in charges of complicity, and he refused to leave the jail.* He urged Edwin Coppoc to go, but he would not desert his comrade in the crisis. They decided to wait until the next night and take their chances when a stranger was on guard outside.

* In these times political excitement ran high in Indiana. Governor Willard, the brother-in-law of Cook, had been attacked by an influential Republican paper of Indianapolis as a confidant in the Harper's Ferry raid. Democratic papers very generally were charging that Republicans were responsible for this and the Republican press in Indiana could not forego the opportunity to retaliate by ascribing all sorts of motives to Governor Willard, who was a Democrat and who did all he could, with the aid of Daniel W. Voorhees and Joseph E. McDonald, both afterward United States senators, to save Cook's life. Governor Willard was wholly innocent of the charges brought against him by the politicians and his course throughout this trying experience was highly honorable. He died in 1860, before the expiration of his term of office. It was because of this unjust criticism that Cook was resolved to do nothing to make his brother-in-law still further an object of suspicion.

Early in the night of December 15, they removed the thin layer of brick and without difficulty reached the open space in the jail yard. The scaffold on which John Brown had been executed was there. Up this Coppoc climbed to the top of the outer wall and lay there at full length. Cook followed, but before mounting the wall held up his hat on a stick to learn whether the guard outside was on the watch. The prisoners were detected, the alarm given and the chance to escape was gone. Had the attempt been made the night before with Charles Lenhart on guard it is needless to say that there would have been a very different record to write. On the morning of the execution, Cook wrote an account of the attempt to escape which was signed by him and Coppoc. It is as follows:

"Having been called upon to make a fair statement in regard to the ways and means of our breaking jail, I have agreed to do so from a sense of duty to the sheriff of the county, our jailer, and the jail guard. We do not wish that any one should be unjustly censured on our account. The principal implements with which we opened a passage through the wall of the jail were a barlow knife and a screw which we took out of the bedstead.

"The knife was borrowed from one of the jail guards to cut a lemon with. We did not return it to him. He had no idea of any intention on our part to break out, neither did the sheriff, jailer, or any of the guard, have any knowledge of our plans.

"We received no aid from any person or persons whatever. We had, as we supposed, removed all the brick except the last tier, several days ago, but on the evening previous to our breaking out, we found our mistake in regard to that matter.

"We had intended to go out on the evening that my sister and brother-in-law were here, but I knew that it would reflect on them, and we postponed it — but I urged Coppoc to go and I would remain, but he refused. We then concluded to wait.

"I got a knife blade from Shields Green, and with that made some teeth in the barlow knife, with which we sawed off our shackles. We had them all off the night previous to our getting

out. Coppoc went out first and I followed. We then got up on the wall, when I was discovered and shot at. The guard outside the wall immediately came up to the wall.

"We saw there was no chance to escape, and as it was discovered that we had broken jail, we walked in deliberately and gave ourselves up to the sheriff, Captain Avis, and the jail guard. There was no person or persons who aided us in our escape. This is true, so help us God.

"JOHN E. COOK,
"EDWIN COPPOC."4

Intense excitement followed the attempt of the prisoners to escape. The people flocked in from the surrounding country to witness the executions. These were times when a legal hanging was still regarded as something of a holiday. The exhibition had not yet been driven by public opinion from the light of day to the darkness of midnight and the seclusion of the dungeon. It is claimed that four or five times as many were present as at the execution of John Brown. The place and scaffold were the same. Newspaper reports differ in detail, even in the statements in regard to the weather. From the Associated Press we learn that "the weather was bright and cheerful and much milder than for several preceding days," while the correspondent of the *Cincinnati Gazette* reports that "the heavens were overcast, the air raw and bitter and the ground covered with a slight snow."

So far as known, the very last letter written by Edwin Coppoc was the short note to his faithful and resourceful friend, Thomas Winn. It was as follows:

"MY DEAR FRIEND THOMAS WINN: For thy love and sympathy, and for thy unwearied efforts in my behalf, accept my warmest thanks. I have no words to tell the gratitude and love I have for thee. And may God bless thee and thy family, for the love and kindness thee has always shown towards my family and me. And when life with thee is over, may we meet on that

shore where there is no parting, is the farewell prayer of thy true Friend,

"EDWIN COPPOC."⁸

On the morning of December 16 the prisoners were aroused early and prepared for execution. The ministers and a few others besides the officers were permitted to meet them before they left the jail.

"It is hard to die," remarked a Quaker to Coppoc.

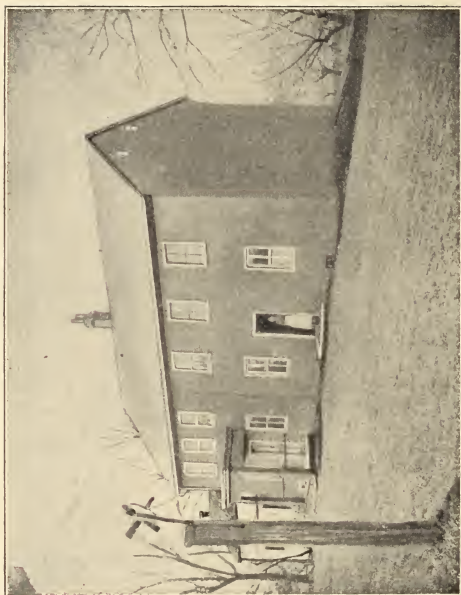
"It is the parting of friends, not the dread of death that moves us," was the reply.

The two men were remarkably cheerful before leaving but seated on their coffins their expressions changed. One correspondent wrote:

"The countenance of Coppoc changed; his face wore a settled expression of despair. He looked wildly around upon the crowd, and his large eyes lighted with an unnatural luster. Many a heart sighed for him. Most of the community were anxious for a commutation of his sentence."

Like John Brown, this youth in his last hours was sustained by the faith that the cause was worthy of the sacrifice. But he was young and the current of health coursing through his veins made life precious and its surrender sad.

Arriving at the scaffold, "the calm and collected manner of both was very marked." "They both exhibited the most unflinching firmness, saying nothing, with the exception of bidding farewell to the ministers and sheriff." "After the cap had been placed on their heads, Coppoc turned toward Cook and stretched forth his hand as far as possible. At the same time Cook said, 'Stop a minute — where is Edwin's hand?' They then shook hands cordially and Cook said, 'God bless you'."



HOME OF JOSHUA COPPOCK,
From which funeral of Edwin Coppoc was conducted.

After everything was in readiness, Cook said "Be quick — as quick as possible," which was echoed by Coppoc, and in a few moments they departed this life forever.

After receiving a letter from his nephew, Joshua Coppoc had gone at once to Charlestown. The day before the execution he talked over with Edwin and Thomas Winn matters of mutual interest and the former changed the request, expressed in his letter, to a preference for burial near his birthplace in Columbiana County.

Back to Salem Joshua Coppock and Thomas Winn brought the body in a coffin provided by the state of Virginia. Arrangements were promptly made for a quiet funeral in accord with Quaker custom. No daily papers then announced the latest news to the people in the rural districts, but in spite of that fact they came in great numbers on December 18 to attend the funeral. Until late in the afternoon they continued to come, some through curiosity no doubt, but very generally through sympathy. All were seriously respectful. The number that came, many to remain but a short time, was estimated at between two and three thousand, and the last simple rites took on the aspect of a large public funeral. In the little room at the home of Joshua Coppock where the body lay, a neighbor woman, Rachel Whinnery, from an adjoining farm, rose and in fitting voice read the following address that she had prepared only the evening before:

"Friends: A brother lies before us, murdered by brothers' hands! Every heart present should swell up in deepest sympathy for the youth, who, apparently, is taking a calm slumber here, to recuperate a system which looks full of health and vigor. How can we realize that this is Death? No sickness has wasted his

natural form, nor has an unforeseen accident laid him low. With the stamina of life about him to have lengthened his time to fourscore years and ten, the cord of life is rent asunder at twenty-four years. The violent hands of man have been laid upon him. His own words are, 'I am thankful that no one fell by my hands!' He, as one of old, fell among thieves, and though the good Samaritans were there to bind up his bleeding, mental wounds, his physical life was sacrificed, and he was murdered for a principle, and that principle was Freedom! On that broad and expanded brow, may be traced the lineaments of Liberty. Slavery has snatched, as it were, a birdling from our own dove-cote, a brother from our own fireside — what can she more?

"The people of Virginia have manifested a great degree of hospitality towards the friends of the departed, who were with him; but what can they give equivalent to that which they have taken away? Can that mother, whose sight is almost obliterated, feel that she can be thus recompensed for so sad a bereavement? Every mother's heart that looks on the lifeless form before us, will feel that Virginia has not only done HER, but themselves, too, a grievous wrong. Would that I could this day summon Governor Wise and the Legislative body of Virginia here to let them gaze on the victim of their barbarous vengeance, and from thence direct it to the aged grandmother, over whose head the snows of four-score winters have passed, bowed with grief, that one so full of life, and so young in years must cross the valley of the shadow of Death before his time. I would have them gaze on the saddened faces, the falling tears of other relatives and friends, and if they were not affected by this, need we wonder at the infamous deed they have committed.

"Not one smiling face is here today. Sadness overhangs us like a pall! But this is only for the physical; mortality has put on immortality, and to him the physical is laid aside. He died, as died other martyrs before him, and the good and the true, among the present and coming generations, will feel that for him there is a crown of glory, where dungeon walls will not loom over him; where manacles cannot gall his limbs, and where that awful feature of barbarism, THE GIBBET, will not appall his soul. With the beautified throng of angels, we leave thee, Oh! our Brother! Thy physical form we consign to Mother Earth; thy soul to thy Father, God, who gave it."⁸

As evening approached the body was borne out into the yard and permitted to rest a short time while the silence was broken briefly by a solemn voice closing with this appeal:



RACHEL WHINNERY



REV. J. A. THOME

"Let us here over this lifeless body and as if standing at the altar of Christ, consecrate our lives anew to go and battle manfully for truth and righteousness, and for the overthrow of the bloody system that sacrifices millions of our fellow men."⁹

As the setting sun in bars of red cloud passed below the horizon, the remains of Edwin Coppoc were lowered into the grave in the Friends' Churchyard, among the quiet hills and valleys of his childhood days. When the shadows of night had fallen and the funeral crowd had vanished, a few sturdy men entered the Friends' Church with arms in their hands to guard the dead, for a rumor had gone abroad that an effort would be made to rob the new made grave.

The salutation to John Brown when he arrived at Springdale, Iowa, among the Quakers was, "Thee is welcome, but we have no use for thy guns." For the first time rifles were carried into the little Ohio church and some Quakers were beginning to have "use for guns."

After the funeral, of course it was the one topic of conversation about the country firesides for many miles around, and there was much sympathy and resentment in the town of Salem. Dissatisfaction was felt at the quiet funeral. Fear was expressed that the body would be removed by pro-slavery sympathizers. Someone said in the midst of a crowd of listeners that it was little short of a disgrace to permit the body of this young martyr to remain in a coffin furnished by the slave state of Virginia. This view soon found frequent expression. There was a demand for a more public funeral in order that the sentiment of Salem and the surrounding country might have adequate expression. Announcement was made in the papers and in a handbill signed by

prominent citizens of Salem, a facsimile of which appears on another page. December 30 was fixed upon as the date for the second and final burial, in Hope Cemetery, Salem, Ohio.

It occurred to one of the anti-slavery leaders of the town that the handbill with a personal letter should go to Governor Wise, of Virginia. A copy of the original, which is still in the archives of the state of Virginia, is here presented for the first time in print:

"SALEM COL. CO. O. 12th Mo 28th 1859.

"TO HENRY A. WISE:

"It has been on my mind for some time to address a few lines to thee but have waited until the great tragedy in which thee has been engaged is over.

"I am satisfied that an awful doom rests over Virginia, not only for her hugging the accursed System of Slavery so close to her vitals, but for the wilful murder of some of the best men that have graced the pages of history for many generations. I mean John Brown and his most noble followers.

"Enclosed thee will find an advertisement. We expect to have 8 or ten thousand people present on its occasion.

"Thine respectfully,

"DANIEL BONSTALL.

"N. B. We shall not bury Edwin Coppick in the Virginia Coffin, but would be rejoiced if her Governor would Come, or send for it.

"D. BONSTALL."2

The appointed day brought a very large crowd of people to Salem to attend the final obsequies. The following account in the main is a paraphrase of the one published in the *Salem Republican*:

In the morning the people began to arrive, some of them from a considerable distance. Long before the appointed hour, one o'clock in the afternoon, the town was thronged with thousands of strangers, who came to pay the final tributes of respect and sympathy. The

F U N E R A L

OF

E D W I N C O P P O C K.

The friends of Edwin Coppock and of the great principles of Freedom, for which he sacrificed his life, and to advance which, he suffered martyrdom, being desirous of showing proper respect to his memory have obtained his remains from his relatives, and have made arrangements to inter the body in the Cemetery in

S A L E M. F R I D A Y, D E C E M B E R 30, 1859.

To meet at the TOWN HALL, at 1 o'clock, P. M. All the friends of JUSTICE, LIBERTY, and HUMANITY, are invited to attend and participate in these solemn rites.

R. H. GARRIGUES,	JOHN HUDSON,
DANIEL BONSALE,	C. H. GARRIGUES,
JACOB HEATON,	JAMES WHINERY,
ISAAC TRESPOTT,	ELIJA WHINERY,
OLIVER MILLER,	ALLEN, BOYLE,
JOHN W. FAWCETT,	EDWARD GIBBONS,
J. K. RUKENBROD,	JOEL M'MILLAN,
ISAAC SNIDER,	J. C. WHINERY,
T. E. VICKERS,	SAMUEL BRUBAKER,
W. P. WEST,	A. WRIGHT,
JOHN McLERAN,	SAML. D. HAWLEY,
A. BRADFIELD,	J. M. BROWN.

HANDBILL ANNOUNCING THE COPPOCK FUNERAL

body of the dead youth was still well preserved but his face, so lifelike at the former funeral, had begun to discolor. It was shrouded in a costly metallic coffin to which it had been transferred. Alfred Wright at the head of a committee of arrangements had charge of the funeral. The body lay in the Town Hall, which had so often, in the years gone by, rung with appeals for the cause that took Edwin Coppoc to Harper's Ferry.

Rev. James A. Thome,* of Ohio City, now a part of Cleveland, offered a prayer, which he followed with brief remarks. He declared that Coppoc's purpose was righteous and that he died "a martyr to the sacred cause of liberty."

"I visited this place more than twenty years ago," he said, "before this young man was born, to defend the doctrine of human rights. Here before me lies the victim of that irrepressible warfare upon human rights, waged by the bloody system of the slave states."

* Rev. James A. Thome was born in Augusta, Kentucky, January 20, 1813. He died in Chattanooga, Tennessee, March 4, 1873. In 1833 he entered Lane Theological Seminary, but withdrew from that institution with other students rather than withdraw from an anti-slavery society that had demanded immediate emancipation. In 1835, he entered the theological school at Oberlin, Ohio, from which he was graduated in 1836. Soon afterward he became active as an agent of the American Anti-Slavery Society and was chosen as one of its representatives to make a tour of the West Indies and report the effect of emancipation in the British West Indies. He and his associate made a report on their return, which was widely circulated as an anti-slavery document. He was a professor in Oberlin college 1838-1848. He then became pastor of the Congregational Church of Ohio City, later a part of Cleveland, and continued to preach there for twenty-three years. In November, 1871, he accepted a call to Chattanooga where he preached until near the date of his death. Prior to the war, after his graduation from Oberlin, he was frequently on the lecture platform advocating the emancipation of the slaves. His near relatives in his native state liberated their slaves, largely through his influence. With William Lloyd Garrison he was a delegate to the International Anti-Slavery Society that met in Paris after the close of the Civil War. His funeral services were conducted from the First Congregational Church of Cleveland where he was buried.

Through the Town Hall passed the throng, estimated at six thousand, unusually silent and solemn, even for such an occasion.

Later the body was borne out of the hall to the hearse and the procession moved to the grave on the hill in the following order: First, the near relatives; Second, the pall bearers; Third, the colored people for whose race the deceased had given his life; Fourth, citizens on foot, followed by those from a distance in carriages.

The coffin was lowered into a strong plank box, well ironed, in a grave of unusual depth.

In the evening all that could enter the Town Hall listened to the impressive funeral discourse by Rev. Thome. The meeting was organized by calling to the chair Jacob Heaton, who for years had been a recognized leader in the anti-slavery cause. After prayer by Rev. Burke of Wayne County, the congregation sang the stirring hymn, "Blow, ye trumpet, blow." The speaker took as his theme, Daniel and the writing on the wall, declaring that "like the message to Belshazzar was John Brown's to enthroned iniquity." "Here," said he, "is grandeur; here is God's own work and grace, here where it is treason to proclaim God's truth; here in an age of sounding brass — are these great souls, like living organs through whose trumpet notes God has blown an anthem that shakes the land like an earthquake."

The sermon was described by one who heard it as remarkably eloquent — such as one is permitted to hear only once in a lifetime.⁵

And thus the remains of this unpretentious youth, this warrior in the anti-slavery cause, whose life was

full of vicissitudes, found a final resting place in a spot that he had known in childhood days. His warfare was over and his sleep so deep that it could not be broken by the opening gun at Fort Sumpter, the marching of "that glorious army" to the southland, the thunders of contending hosts on a hundred battle fields, the final overthrow of Lee whom he had spared to lead the Confederate legions, the triumph of liberty and union, the "Declaration of Independence fully realized." All this, which he was not permitted to witness with mortal eye, he saw in vision before he went to his final rest.

A number of estimates of the character of Edwin Coppoc are now at hand. Without exception they are favorable. Mrs. Annie Brown Adams, the daughter of John Brown, who knew Coppoc at Harper's Ferry, thus speaks of him:

"He was of fair skin, had a well balanced, large head, dark brown hair and eyes. * * * He was quite simple and fascinating in his ways: — a rare young fellow caring for and fearing nothing, he yet possessed great social traits and no better comrade have I ever met."⁴

George B. Gill has left the following interesting estimate:

"Edwin had a birthright in the Society of Friends. All of his nearest relatives, with the exception of his brothers, were zealous adherents of that Society. [Edwin] early developed a business capacity, accumulating horses, oxen and also land. He was a young man of great force and decision, accompanied by the most winning manner and amiable ways. Intellectually his peers in his country home were few. His courage was equal apparently to any emergency. Amiable, loving and brave, no gathering whether of mind or muscle, whether the aims were physical or social, was complete without him. Honorable, loyal and true, mirthful, yet full of the thoughtful sympathies of life; a magnetism attracting and holding all within the firm clasp

of friendship; some five feet seven or eight inches in height, with a rugged, well-knit frame which accepted without fear all the tests that a life of labor gives. One world at a time, and that world this, was all the world that he knew; another to him was a thing of beauty, full of joy and song.

"But the world went wrong. A blight came—a crushing of hopes in a manhood whose intensity could not dream of love's resurrection or time's healing power.* Amid the dream a larger love was born and for that love he died."¹⁰

Edwin Coppoc was not forgotten in the section of Ohio where he was born. His death made a deep impression which did not pass with his obsequies. It inspired the volunteers who answered their country's call when the slogan, "No union with slaveholders" was changed to "The union with no slaveholders"; and many a Quaker boy renounced the non-resistant article of his creed, put on the uniform of blue and marched away under the flag to battle for liberty and union. When the struggle ended and the country was electrified by the news that Lee had surrendered, the people of Salem, men, women and children, came forth to celebrate "that glorious day." Among them was a youth, a teacher in the high school, born and reared a Quaker in the country south of the town, who suggested that an effigy of General Lee be placed in the coffin in which the body of Edwin Coppoc had been brought from Harper's Ferry — an exhibit of the compensating justice of history. This was promptly done, and on the shoulders of this youth and three others the coffin with the effigy was borne at the head of the great procession in the midst of the wildest enthusiasm that Salem had ever known.

The youth who figured in this event still lives to

* There are traditions of this disappointment, but nothing more definite than the above statement.

tell, in his modest way, the story which will be found on succeeding pages. Our readers will recognize in him one of the leading scholars and teachers that Ohio has produced, whose fame as such is state-wide, nation-wide and international.



MONUMENT TO EDWIN COPPOC
Gift of Howell Hise

At the close of the Civil War Coppoc's memory was thus honored. His grave is at the entrance of Hope Cemetery. Past it the bodies of many a youth who fell in that conflict have gone to their rest. With them he is still remembered and on each Memorial Day the modest but substantial monument that marks his grave is crowned with a wreath of flowers.

NOTES

1. Rebecca J. Douglas of Indianapolis, Indiana, is preparing a genealogy of the Coppoc family. She has kindly consented to the use of her notes in the preparation of the preceding and succeeding articles on Edwin and Barclay Coppoc.

2. Oswald Garrison Villard, grandson of William Lloyd Garrison, editor of the *Nation* and author of *John Brown, A Biography Fifty Years After*, in the preparation of the latter work collected much material relating to John Brown's men. He kindly loaned this to the writer for use in the preparation of the sketches of Edwin and Barclay Coppoc. This included (2) papers from the Virginia archives; (6) manuscript extracts from scrapbooks and other papers in the library of the Kansas Historical Society; (10) copies of manuscripts and letters in the possession of the Brown family. This material has been of very great value, as will be seen, in the preparation of these sketches.

3. Irving B. Richman wrote a contribution for the Historical Society of Iowa entitled *John Brown Among the Quakers*. This was afterwards published in separate form. The references bearing this number are to this interesting contribution.

4. Colonel Richard J. Hinton, in 1894, published his well known work, *John Brown and His Men*. He was personally acquainted with all of Brown's men and was himself one of them. He had expected to be at Harper's Ferry but the precipitation of the attack there prevented his participation. The writer is under obligations to this work for somewhat copious extracts and frequent references. It is an invaluable source of information on the men who went with John Brown on his foray into Virginia.

5. The references bearing this number are to the Salem (Ohio) *Republican*, the early files of which are in the public library at Salem, Ohio. Extracts from these files were made by the writer, by the Librarian, Miss Anna P. Cook, and her assistant, Mrs. Blanche C. H. Lease, for whose copy in type-written form grateful acknowledgment is here made.

6. See (6) in note 2.

7. This is from the original letter, long in the possession of Sarah Coppock Bailey, daughter of Joshua Coppock. This letter

is now, through her kindness, in the possession of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society.

8. Typewritten copy furnished by Mrs. Samuel Coppock who has kindly given much information to the author in the preparation of these sketches.

9. Cleveland *Leader*, January, 1860.

10. See (10) in note 2.

LOCK OF EDWIN COPPOC'S HAIR.

Recently the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society has received from Samuel Coppock, of Winona, Ohio, a lock of the hair of Edwin Coppoc, which is now to be seen with the other mementos in the museum of the Society.

LETTER OF EDWIN COPPOC.

The letter of Edwin Coppoc to his uncle Joshua is reproduced verbatim with a single exception: in the twelfth line from the top of page 431, between the word "say" and "I" in the original the word "that" occurs. The italicized portions were underscored in the letter. Slight faults in orthography have been corrected. The letter is written in a clear and steady hand. In view of the circumstances under which it was written, it is a remarkable production, as is also the address of Rachael Whinnery at the funeral.



THE COFFIN OF EDWIN COPPOCK

BY THOMAS C. MENDENHALL

There has recently been added to the collection of John Brown relics in the museum of The Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society another concerning which I have been requested to tell the following story:

On the morning of the tenth of April, 1865, I left my room which was over the Farmers' National Bank on Main Street, Salem, Ohio, intending to proceed to the High School, in which I was a teacher. But I did not see the inside of a school room that day.

Groups of people were forming at every corner and I soon learned that news had been received of the surrender of Lee to General Grant, the long looked-for climax of the Civil War. This event was of far greater importance to the people of the United States than was that of the armistice at the end of the recent European war, and the joy with which it was greeted was far greater than that exhibited on the latter occasion.

There were many reasons why the town of Salem, Ohio, should be more jubilant over the end of the struggle than most communities. For many years it had been the center of activity of the anti-slavery forces west of the Allegheny mountains, the headquarters of the Western Anti-Slavery Society, as Boston was of the New England Anti-Slavery Society. Out of it, during

many years, had gone the weekly issue of the *Anti-Slavery Bugle* (the organ of The Western Society, as Garrison's *Liberator* was of that of New England) from which many a powerful and far-reaching "Blast for Freedom" had come. Its town hall had resounded with eloquence of the most famous expounders of the anti-slavery doctrine, including William Lloyd Garrison, Fred Douglas, Wendell Phillips, Parker Pillsbury, Abby Kelley, "Sojourner Truth" (illiterate but inspired negro-slave woman orator) and many others. It was the "Faneuil Hall" of the West.

Some of the people of Salem had suffered, some to the extent of being "tarred and feathered", because of their activity in an unpopular cause, and in its cemetery was the tomb of Edwin Coppock, who was one of John Brown's men, hanged at Harper's Ferry, December 16, 1859. The body of this martyr to the anti-slavery cause was sent to the home of his relatives living near New Garden (a few miles south of Salem) and on December 18 it was buried in the cemetery* of that small village, in the presence of as many as two thousand witnesses, including practically the entire population within a radius of a few miles.

A few days later a "call" was issued, printed on thin blue paper about eight inches by five inches in dimensions, signed by twenty-four leading citizens of Salem, of which the following is a copy:

* This cemetery is now in the village of Winona.

FUNERAL
OF
EDWIN COPPOCK

The friends of Edwin Coppock and of the great principles of freedom for which HE *sacrificed* his life, and to advance which he suffered martyrdom, being desirous of showing proper respect to his memory have obtained his remains from his relatives, and have made arrangements to inter the body in the cemetery in

SALEM, FRIDAY, DECEMBER 30, 1859.

To meet at the TOWN HALL at 1 o'clock P. M. All the friends of JUSTICE, LIBERTY and HUMANITY are invited to attend and participate in these solemn rites.

R. H. GARRIGUES
DANIEL BONSALE
JACOB HEATON
ISAAC TRESCOTT
OLIVER MILLER
JOHN FAWCETT
J. K. RUKENBROD
ISAAC SNIDER
T. E. VICKERS
W. P. WEST
JOHN McLERAN
A. BRADFIELD

JOHN HUDSON
C. H. GARRIGUES
JAMES WHINERY
ELIJAH WHINERY
ALLEN BOYLE
EDWARD GIBBONS
JOEL McMILLAN
J. C. WHINERY
SAMUEL BRUBAKER
A. WRIGHT
SAM'L D. HAWLEY
J. M. BROWN

In response to this call thousands of visitors from all parts of Northeastern Ohio came to Salem on the day announced and the body of the martyr, after being transferred from the rude coffin in which it had been sent from Harper's Ferry to a fine metallic casket, was buried in Hope Cemetery where it has since rested beneath a shaft of sandstone on which the only inscription is the name "Edwin Coppock".

While enthusiasm over the "end of the war" grew rapidly on the streets of Salem on the morning of April 10th, there was little organization for its expression —

and little was needed. The mayor of the town, however, issued a proclamation requesting all persons to close their places of business, to give up the day to general rejoicing and to illuminate their dwellings at night. A meeting was held in the historic town hall and within a few hours practically the entire population of the town, numbering at that time about three thousand, was upon the streets, bent on giving voice to the joy which was in their hearts. Only a little more than five years had elapsed since the body of Coppock had been received in Salem, at which time it had seemed to many that the miserable failure of John Brown's venture had postponed indefinitely the freedom of the slave.

The historic value of the rude box in which it had come had been recognized by Dr. J. C. Whinnery,* and he had preserved it in the attic of the building in which his offices were located. This fact was known to the writer of these lines and with the assistance of three others (young men) it was brought down and an effigy of General Lee was placed in it. It had not been forgotten that it was General Lee who commanded the marines who broke into the Fort at Harper's Ferry, who prevented the escape of Edwin Coppock and were thus immediately responsible for his death. With this upon their shoulders they came out upon the street and in an incredibly short time they were marching at the head of a procession numbering more than a thousand people, all shouting the refrain of that great war hymn:

“John Brown's body lies moldering in his grave,
His soul goes marching on.”

* Whinnery is the correct spelling. The name is misspelled in the handbill.

With this song of triumph as they marched, the streets of the unusually quiet old Quaker town were made to ring as never before and never since, and it is doubtful if there was anywhere in the country, on that memorable day a more vivid illustration of the rapid march of events during those half dozen fateful years.

At the death of Dr. Whinnery many years later, this interesting relic came into the possession of his daughter, Mrs. Gertrude Whinnery Richards, to whom The Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society is greatly indebted for its transfer to the Society's museum at Columbus, where it will continue to be an object of great interest to the thousands who annually visit this very remarkable collection of articles and documents, mostly related to the history of our own state. And it will help to keep alive in the minds and thoughts of these thousands, some knowledge and veneration for the men and women of that heroic period.

The Society is also much indebted to Mrs. Annie Boyle Gilbert, of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, for the original of the call to the Coppock funeral to which the name of her father, Allen Boyle, is attached.





BARCLAY COPPOC.



ANNE COPPOC,
Mother of Edwin and Barclay
Coppoc.

BARCLAY COPPOC

BY C. B. GALBREATH

Barclay Coppoc, according to the family genealogist, was born in Butler Township, Columbiana County, Ohio, January 4, 1839. At the age of eleven years he went with the family to Springdale, Iowa. He grew up into a delicate looking, slender youth, but wiry, venturesome and fearless, as the story of his life will show.

Soon after the family reached Iowa, a younger sister, Lydia, died of consumption; the oldest brother, Levi, and another sister, Maria, became invalids from the same disease and passed away in the year 1855. Barclay, who aided in nursing them through their illness, was himself threatened and went to Kansas in 1856 to live in the open and fortify his frail constitution against the malady that had already taken away three members of the family. It is needless to say that once in that territory his inherited and acquired hostility to slavery made him an intense partisan of the Free State cause. How long he remained in Kansas is not definitely known. He became acquainted with John Brown and some of his followers and returned to Iowa before the end of the year, greatly improved in health by his emigrant life.

When John Brown and his little band arrived in Springdale late in 1857, some questioned whether he was the real John Brown of Ossawatimie fame. Barclay Coppoc removed all doubt when he promptly recognized the hero of Black Jack and his followers.

Along with his older brother, Edwin, Barclay was deeply interested in John Brown and his plans, much impressed with the two visits of the old warrior in Springdale, and finally joined the party at Harper's Ferry. While Edwin was commissioned lieutenant, Barclay remained a private. The latter was afflicted with asthma and apparently not sufficiently vigorous to stand up under long continued and arduous physical exertion. For this reason, it is said, he was left on guard at the Kennedy Farm when John Brown and nineteen of his men left on the fateful night of October 16, 1859, to attack Harper's Ferry.

With him were left on guard Owen Brown, son of John Brown, and Francis J. Merriam, a member of the wealthy Merriam family of Massachusetts, whose opposition to slavery led him to join in the movement at Harper's Ferry. Owen had direction of the little party of three who had been instructed by his father to take the arms from the Kennedy house to a school house about one mile from the Ferry, or direct to the Ferry itself, depending upon where they could be used to the best advantage.

The night of the attack Owen stood on guard while Merriam and Coppoc slept. No sound reached them from the Ferry until about six o'clock in the morning, when they heard firing in that direction. About eleven o'clock on Monday a slave who had been captured by John Brown came with a team and wagon for a load of arms. These were taken to the school house as directed. At three o'clock in the afternoon the reports of guns from the Ferry became more frequent. A colored man rode up and asked that an effort be made to

help the party at the Ferry. The three men armed themselves and started. The shadows of night had commenced to fall. An armed man was seen approaching and ordered to halt. It was Charles Plummer Tidd, one of Brown's men. He reported that the band at Harper's Ferry were hemmed in and a number of them had been killed, adding that there was no possible chance for the others to escape. He advised leaving the place as soon as possible. To this Owen Brown objected, declaring that they must not abandon their friends. It was his plan to get together a number of slaves, arm them, approach the Ferry and commence firing at long range to divert the attention of the enemy in order that their beleaguered friends might have an opportunity to escape.

After they had proceeded about a mile they met another man in the darkness who proved to be John E. Cook, another of Brown's men, who had not gone to the Ferry but who earlier in the day from the Maryland heights had fired upon the Virginians to divert their attention. He reported that John Brown and a number of the men had been killed and that there was nothing to be done except to hasten into the mountains if they would save their lives. The five then retreated, accompanied by the negro who shortly afterward, to their great discomfiture, deserted them, for they well knew that in order to save himself he would probably betray them.

Under the leadership of Owen they followed the mountain ranges north into Pennsylvania, hiding in the daytime and moving forward cautiously and with much uncertainty in the night. The surrounding country was

thoroughly aroused. After they had spent some days in the mountains and had consumed the supply of food with which they started, they were startled one day by the sound of voices in the distance, followed by echoes of another sound that filled them with apprehension and terror. It was the baying of hounds, and the fugitives at once concluded that they were followed by a party that had set bloodhounds on their trail. They hurried in the opposite direction and finally came upon a clearing with a house in it and a road running along one side. Here they halted to avoid detection. Nearer and nearer sounded the baying of the hounds. On they pressed a mile or so farther. The light of day was beginning to dawn. Owen gave command not to shoot the dogs unless there were men with them. In relating the story of the flight afterwards he said in speaking of dogs:

"I never saw one that would bite me. Dogs, you see, are like men; if you pretend to know them they are sure you do or at least believe a certain civility is due to the doubt. The fact that you are not afraid of them, too, has to both dogs and men a convincing, peace-making mystery about it."

So the party stopped and waited for the hounds. In a little while a red fox passed by, showing by the tongue lolling out of its mouth that it had been chased far. Following came the hounds. They stopped and looked at the men for a moment and then went on after the fox. After they were gone there was a doubt in the minds of the men whether the hounds had been put on their track or whether they simply belonged to fox hunters.

The strength of Merriam was not equal to the arduous experience in the mountains. At different times he was unable to proceed and it seemed that he would have to be abandoned. Owen, however, would

not consent to desert him and at times carried him on his shoulders. Trouble developed between Cook and Tidd and it required all of Owen's persuasive power and generalship to keep them from quarreling or from endangering the safety of all by their indiscretions. Hunger drove the men almost to desperation and Cook was determined to risk everything in order to get food in spite of the pleading of Owen not to do so. At last he succeeded in getting some bread, salt, boiled beef and other provisions that greatly relieved the hunger of his companions when he returned. Having succeeded in this venture, he later made another attempt to get food. The other members of the party waited long for his return but he never came back. He was captured, sent back to Virginia and finally executed, as already related, with Edwin Coppoc.

The party reached Chambersburg about the 25th of October. While the weather at this time in the valleys was not uncomfortable, snow was falling on the mountains and rains had been frequent. The men were beginning to weaken under the strain and for lack of food. They pressed onward, however, determined to escape or perish in the effort. Finally it was decided that it would be impossible for Merriam to proceed much farther. After a day's rest he was taken to a railroad some distance from Chambersburg and started for the next station to board a passenger train. He had given all of his money, except enough to pay his fare east, to his companions. The risk he took was great but his plan was entirely successful. He boarded the train at Shippensburg, was not detected and was soon safe among his friends in Philadelphia.

Owen Brown, Coppoc and Tidd continued their journey, intending to travel all the distance to northwestern Pennsylvania where they had acquaintances and might feel measurably safe. After traveling some days they risked taking the road in the daytime and met a man on horseback. Owen inquired of him the way to Bellefonte, in Center County, Pennsylvania. He had learned of Quakers in the vicinity of this place and thought if they could get employment from a sympathetic Quaker friend until the excitement over the raid at the Ferry had died away, they might then continue their journey. They did not ask the man they met about Harper's Ferry, although they were very eager to get news regarding what had happened there. They learned that, while the town they sought was some distance away, they were within ten miles of the Juniata River. Later they reached this, crossed without difficulty at the ferry and traveled in a canal boat for seven or eight miles. Taking the road for Bellefonte they were tempted to stop at a farm house by the large, comfortable fire that beamed through the window. Without question they were given food and a night's lodging.

Here they learned for the first time from a newspaper what had happened at the Ferry and the fate of Cook. Owen Brown read aloud for his companions. When he came to the account of the suffering and fortitude of his father and the death of his two brothers, his voice, in spite of his self restraint, was tremulous. Barclay Coppoc listened in silence to the report of the capture of his brother, but it was noticed by Owen that tears from his large brown eyes coursed down his pallid cheeks and fell on his coat.

The next morning, after paying for their food and lodging, they learned from their host that about twenty miles to the northwest lived a Quaker by the name of Wakefield. They reached his place in the evening and found him and his son loading wheat. To Tidd's request for lodging, the elderly gentleman said, "Thy friends may come." But when the party put in their appearance with their arms he held up his hands and told them that they could not bring their guns into the house.

"It may have been contrary to his church rules," said Owen in his account, "I don't know, but we argued the case a while and then hit upon the lucky compromise that we should take the loads out of our guns. We had hardly got inside the house, however, when he startled us by saying, in his calm way, that he knew who we were—we were from Harper's Ferry. We asked him how he knew that. He said we were so gaunt. He knew that we were hunted like wild beasts and that fact and our cause were a short cut to his heart. We found the house a nice, cleanly one and the two trim daughters who were the housekeepers soon got us a splendid supper."*

The Quaker would take nothing for their entertainment, and insisted upon their remaining with him over the next day, which was Sunday. He cautioned them to travel at night for some time and directed them to a cousin of his who lived about forty miles farther in the direction of their course.

Without any incident more exciting than the gathering of apples for food in one or two orchards and the capture of some poultry from the hen roost of a farmer, the three men finally reached the home of the cousin

*For this and succeeding extracts from the account of Owen Brown, the writer is under obligations to Mr. T. B. Alexander, who contributed a typewritten copy. The narrative, with slight variations, appeared in the *Atlantic Monthly* of April, 1874.

which they approached after nightfall. In answer to their call he came to the window. What followed is thus described by Owen Brown:

"We told him, as he leaned out of the window, that Mr. Wakefield had sent us to him, and he seemed disposed to let us in; but at this stage of the interview another window, apparently in the same second story room, opened and three night-capped heads were thrust out. No, we couldn't come in, any such thing, they cried in chorus. They knew who we were; we were traitors; and our lives were forfeit. We said that we had merely risked our lives for the freedom of millions of helpless slaves. They replied that they were not in favor of slavery, themselves, but they were also in favor of not putting it down by force. And there we had it with the night-caps. The man was on our side, but when he said anything in our favor it seemed to go worse with us than ever. His argument excited more fury in the night-caps than ours did. We offered to pay twice any sum they would ask. What was money to them when we were traitors and carried wicked guns besides? We offered to give them up our guns. At this the voice of what I took to be the old lady said, 'Oh!' and one night-cap disappeared; it might have been in terror, it might have been consenting. Then the two younger voices said, 'Well, father, if you want to take in murderers you may, but don't ask us to wait on them,' and the two other night-caps disappeared and the windows went down. It may seem an amusing scene to you, yet it was pretty serious to us and we stood wondering what was to be our fate with the three female tongues ready to betray us and the man of the house not daring to take us in — when the door opened and the Quaker told us we might enter."

The next morning they were given their breakfast but the women refused to wait on them. The man of the house would not take any pay from them and Coppoc and Tidd helped him husk corn all the next day while Owen went to the village nearby, purchased some carpet-bags in which to carry their small arms and got a box in which to pack the others. By evening the women of the Quaker household were much mollified and disposed to take considerable interest in the visitors who the

evening before had been so unwelcome. The box with the arms was shipped to Salem, Ohio, and from this point Barclay Coppoc started by stage for the same destination.

In speaking of the conduct and character of Barclay Coppoc, Owen Brown years afterward said:

"Barclay Coppoc, who was with me through so much hardship, was a medium sized young man, not over twenty-two or twenty-three years old. He did not look very healthy, but could stand a great deal. He was not so well educated or so energetic as his brother who was hanged."

In a letter to the *Atlantic Monthly* of July, 1874, he added this estimate:

"Coppoc was brave, philanthropic, true to principle, faithful to his friends, and of well restrained temper. Few have more admirable qualities."

George B. Gill, who has left striking pen pictures of John Brown's men, was not so favorably impressed with Barclay Coppoc as with his brother Edwin. He seemed to think that the former was self-centered and not worthy of some of the eulogistic estimates of him. Colonel Richard J. Hinton, who knew him well, says:

"He (Barclay) had scant brown hair, bold large eyes, irregular features, a determined expression. During the perilous period of escaping, though frail in strength, Owen's narrative shows that the brave youth bore his share without complaint of the thirty-six days of hunger, cold, fatigue and danger that they passed in the rough laurel hills and semi-mountain areas from the neighborhood of Harper's Ferry to Center County, Pennsylvania."

Barclay Coppoc proceeded with no untoward experience to Salem, Ohio, whither the box of arms had been shipped. Here he remained for a short time with rela-

tives and friends to rest and regain strength. Just what his movements were following his return to Ohio is not definitely known. Reminiscences are often not very reliable and should usually be sustained by documentary evidence before they are recorded as history. The reminiscences and manuscript records at hand for this period do not harmonize, possibly due to an error in transcribing; and then there may be confusion due to the two visits he made to Salem late in the year 1859 and early in 1860.

His own account, according to extracts from his letter of January 13, 1860, written from Springdale, Iowa, to Annie Brown, is as follows:

"There are but five of our little band now away and safe; namely, Owen, Tidd, Merriam, O. P. Anderson, or as we used to call him, Chatham Anderson, and myself. There were five of us who started from the Ferry, Owen, Tidd, Merriam, John E. Cook and myself. We were together eight days before John was captured, which was near Chambersburg, and the next night Merriam left us and went to Shippensburg, and there took the cars for Philadelphia. After that there were but three of us left, and we kept together until we got to Center County, Pennsylvania, where we bought a box and packed up all heavy luggage, such as rifles, blankets, etc., and after being together three or four weeks we separated, and I went on through with the box to Ohio on the cars. Owen and Tidd went on foot towards the northwestern part of Pennsylvania.

"From Ohio I went to Canada and stopped there a few weeks. Then I went to Niagara Falls, as far east as Rochester, and on to Buffalo and Cleveland. I stopped there about two weeks and then started for my home in Iowa.

"When I got off the cars at our station, which is about six or seven miles from our old place, I met several hundred persons who were anxiously awaiting my arrival."¹⁰

B. F. Gue, the Iowa historian, in an article published in the *American Historical Magazine*, Vol. 1, p. 143, related that Barclay Coppoc, after parting from Tidd

¹⁰ See (10) in note 2, page 450.

and Owen Brown in Pennsylvania, "took a train for Iowa, which he safely reached, worn almost to a skeleton by starvation and exposure. He appeared suddenly in his old home on the 17th of December and met a warm and tearful welcome. His brother * * * had died on a Virginia scaffold the day before."

Now it is evident that from November 24, the date on which he started from Pennsylvania for Ohio, to December 17 is only twenty-three days. It of course is improbable, perhaps impossible, that he should have visited in that time all the places he named in his letter and that he should have spent "a few weeks" in Canada and "two weeks" in Cleveland. He seems to have been in Springdale in December, 1859, however, for William McCormick, of Muscatine, Iowa, on the 23d of that month, wrote to Governor Wise, of Virginia, apprising him that Barclay Coppoc "is with his mother in Springdale and was in Muscatine yesterday." He adds: "I do not see why he could not be arrested without much trouble, he is in the country away from any town of any note, but am told that he has many friends among his neighbors."

Barclay's mother, in a letter to James Whinnery, of Salem, Ohio, dated "Springdale, Iowa, 1st mo. 22nd '60" says:

"Barclay is at home and seems determined to stay, although there are reports almost continually of somebody being in search of him. He says he has hurt nobody, and will not *run* nor will not be *taken*. * * * I think B's friends will take care of him, as they are both numerous and resolute."

How his friends had prepared to "take care of him" is indicated in the following letter, written by a neighbor who, like Mrs. Coppoc and her family, had earlier left

Columbiana County, Ohio, and gone to Iowa. It is interesting because it shows that the village of Springdale and the surrounding country were thoroughly aroused and that the non-resistant creed of the Quakers there was gradually giving way under the stress of the times. It is a singular combination of the "plain language," guns and the assurance that Springdale "is right on the goose:"

"Springdale, Cedar County, Iowa, Feb. 12, 1860.

"The object of thy anxious inquiry (Barclay Coppoc) has not been taken from Springdale, nor is it intended that he shall be taken. Springdale is in arms and is prepared, at a half-hour's notice, to give them a reception of 200 shots; and it will be necessary for the marshal to find him before he can be taken. There is a well-organized body here. They meet two or three evenings in each week to lay their plans and take the necessary steps to have them carried out in case of necessity. There are three of their number who always know of his whereabouts, and nobody else knows anything of him. He is never seen at night where he was during the day, and there are men on the watch at Davenport, Muscatine, Iowa City, Liberty, Tipton, and all around, and the first sign of an arrest in any quarter a messenger will be dispatched to Springdale, and larger companies than the Virginians can raise will follow immediately after them. Muscatine has offered to send 400 men at the very shortest notice. But it is intended to baffle them in every possible way without bloodshed if possible. The marshal was at Des Moines City some two weeks for a requisition, and the Governor refused to grant it on account of informality; then swore they would take him by mob. The citizens dispatched a messenger immediately to this place. He rode four horses down on the way, and came through in two nights and a day, it being 165 miles. We understand that the marshal has gone the second time to Des Moines for his requisition, and his return is looked for daily. But I have no doubt he will be baffled in some way, for be assured Springdale is right on the goose.

"F. C. GALBREATH."⁴

As Governor Willard of Indiana was personally involved by the Harper's Ferry raid through his brother-

⁴ From *John Brown and His Men*, by Hinton. See note 4, page 450.

in-law, John E. Cook, Governor Samuel J. Kirkwood, of Iowa, (later United States Senator and Secretary of the Interior) was officially drawn into the aftermath of that event by the return of Barclay Coppoc to his home in Springdale.

In his inaugural address of January 11, 1860, Governor Kirkwood devoted considerable attention to John Brown's invasion of Virginia. Like many other men in office he expressed strong disapproval of this movement and like others of his political faith he made pretty clearly known that he considered this a result of the unfair treatment that the Free State men had been accorded for years in the Territory of Kansas. This sentence in his inaugural stirred up his political foes to active and open hostility:

"While the great mass of our northern people utterly condemn the act of John Brown, they feel and express admiration and sympathy for the disinterestedness of purpose by which they believe he was governed and for the unflinching courage and calm cheerfulness with which he met the consequences of his failure."*

This expression precipitated a storm in the legislature of Iowa. The governor was severely criticised by his political opponents in that body and they finally went on record in a scathing protest. Here matters rested for a time until, on the 23d day of January, 1860, a Mr. Camp, an agent sent by Governor Letcher of Virginia, who had succeeded Governor Wise, appeared in Des Moines and presented to Governor Kirkwood a requisition for the arrest and surrender of Barclay Coppoc. Two members of the Iowa Legislature, Edward Wright and B. F. Gue, abolitionists, entered the

* *History of Iowa*, by B. F. Gue, Vol. II, pages 16, 17.

Governor's office while the interview between Camp and Governor Kirkwood was in progress. This is what happened as subsequently report by Gue.*

"We found in conference with the Governor a pompous-looking man, who seemed to be greatly excited. Governor Kirkwood was calmly listening to the violent language of this individual, who was swinging his arms wildly in his wrath. The Governor quietly suggested to the stranger, that 'he had supposed that he did not want his business made public.'

"The rude reply was: 'I don't care a d——n who knows it now, since you have refused to honor the requisition.'

"The pompous man then proceeded to argue the case with the Governor, and we soon learned that he was an agent from Virginia bearing a requisition from Governor Letcher for the surrender of Barclay Coppoc.

"In reply to a remark by the agent that Coppoc might escape before he could get the defect in the requisition cured, the Governor, looking significantly at us, replied: 'There is a law under which you can arrest Coppoc and hold him until the requisition is granted,' and the Governor reached for the code. We waited to hear no more, but, saying to the Governor that we would call again when he was not engaged and giving him a look that was a response to his own, we walked out."

Promptly afterward a conference was held with other anti-slavery members of the Legislature and a messenger was sent posthaste on horseback to distant Springdale to warn Coppoc and his friends. The messenger bore a note advising that the Governor would probably be compelled to issue the requisition. As already seen from a letter quoted, the messenger arrived in due time and the friends of Coppoc prepared to give the Virginia agent a warm reception if he should appear.

In the meantime Governor Kirkwood's keen and sympathetic eye had detected certain material flaws in the requisition papers and he refused to order Barclay Coppoc's arrest for the following reasons:

* *History of Iowa*, by B. F. Gue, Vol. II, p. 20.

"First — No indictment had been found against him.

"Second — The affidavit was made before an alleged notary public, but was not authenticated by a notary's seal.

"Third — The affidavit did not show that Coppoc was in Virginia aiding and abetting John Brown.

"Fourth — It did not legally charge him with commission of any crime."*

When this action of the Governor became publicly known, the Legislature was again thrown into commotion and the following resolutions were offered by a partisan opponent:

"WHEREAS, A requisition was made on the Governor of Iowa by the Governor of Virginia for Barclay Coppoc, an alleged participant in the difficulties at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, as a fugitive from Justice, and

"WHEREAS, The Governor of Iowa has refused to deliver up said Coppoc under said requisition, alleging technical defects therein, therefore be it

"Resolved, That the Governor of Iowa be requested to lay before the House a copy of the requisition directed to him by the Governor of Virginia, and all matters connected therewith; also to inform this House whether he possessed any knowledge in regard to a rumor that a special messenger was dispatched to inform Coppoc of his danger; and if so, by what authority said messenger was dispatched to inform Coppoc of his danger."*

The Governor very promptly laid before the House of Representatives a ringing defense of his action. After criticising the conduct of the agent from Virginia and denying that he had sent any word whatever to Barclay Coppoc or his friends, he said:

"Permit me to say in conclusion that one of the most important duties of the official position I hold is to see that no citizen of Iowa is carried beyond her border and subjected to the ignominy of imprisonment and the perils of trial for crimes in another state otherwise than by due process of law. That duty I shall perform."*

* *History of Iowa*, by B. F. Gue, Vol. II, p. 19, 20.

It is pointed out that, if Governor Packer of Pennsylvania had been as deliberate in his action before surrendering to Virginia Hazlett and Cook, it is probable that neither of them would have ended his career on the gallows.

In this connection it is interesting to recall the attitude of Governor Dennison of Ohio. He promptly referred the requisition for Owen Brown and Merriam to the Attorney General of that state who very soon found a number of defects that were ample excuse for the Governor not to authorize the arrest of either of these men.

Finally a second requisition from Virginia which avoided the defects that Governor Kirkwood had pointed out in the first was presented at Des Moines and a warrant was issued for the arrest of Barclay Coppoc, but he could not then be found. His friends had been promptly notified and with Thaddeus Maxson Barclay was conveyed with an armed guard to Mechanicsville and later the two proceeded by rail to Chicago and thence to Detroit. It has generally been stated that they crossed over to Canada. If they did so they remained a very short time, for they soon went to Ohio where Barclay was in hiding with friends near Salem and later joined Owen Brown and F. J. Merriam at the home of John Brown, Jr., in Dorset, Ashtabula County, Ohio.

It must be remembered that all this time a reward was offered for the capture of Coppoc and that he was in continual danger of arrest. It is not likely that Governor Dennison would have been instrumental in this if he could have consistently avoided it, but the United States authorities might at any time seize any of the

members of the John Brown party that had escaped from the Ferry. It was therefore important that these men and their friends should be constantly on guard. It was at this time that Barclay Coppoc and Thaddeus Maxson visited the home of Daniel Bonsall, a prominent anti-slavery man living near Salem. Charles Bonsall, who is still living at the age of eighty-two, recently gave his reminiscences of the visit of these two men as follows:

"In the spring of 1860, some time in April, as I remember, Barclay Coppoc and Thaddeus Maxson came to the neighborhood of Winona and remained for some time. They spent the time with well-known abolitionists. I distinctly recall their visit to the home of my father, Daniel Bonsall. When they first called, father was away from home and I met the two men. As soon as they knew who I was and that they were safe they made known their identity. I suspected this before they spoke. Barclay Coppoc, after his escape from Harper's Ferry, had returned to Springdale, Iowa. From that place he had come back with Maxson to his native neighborhood south of Salem to organize secret leagues to oppose the Fugitive Slave law. The principles of this league had been formulated by Parker Pillsbury and printed along with the constitution in pamphlet form.*

* The name of this organization was the Order of the League of Freedom. It was founded in Ashtabula County and it was the purpose of its members to extend it to other states. Through the kindly interest of Mr. and Mrs. T. B. Alexander, a copy of this document, which was secretly printed, is now in the possession of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society. The preliminary declaration is as follows:

"WHEREAS, Our fathers founded this Federal Government upon the 'self-evident' truth that all men are endowed by their Creator with equal and imprescriptible rights to enjoy *life, liberty*, and the pursuit of happiness; and by the Constitution provided, that no person shall be deprived of *life, liberty*, or property, without due process of law; and we, believing that the African and all other races of men are included in these provisions; and

"WHEREAS, We believe Slave-holding in the United States is the source of numberless evils, moral, social and political; that it hinders social progress; that it embitters public and private intercourse; that it degrades us as individuals, as States, and as a Nation; that it holds back our country from a splendid career of greatness and glory, and is in direct violation of the principles laid down in the Declaration of our National Independence.

"We are, therefore, resolutely, inflexibly, at all times, and under all circumstances, hostile to its longer continuance in our land."

"It soon became known to many people of Salem that Barclay Coppoc was in the neighborhood. A citizen of Salem, who was something of a private detective, declared that he would get the reward offered for the arrest of Coppoc and that in a short time he would be returned to the Virginia authorities. When Barclay Coppoc heard what this would-be detective proposed to do, he sent to him substantially this message:

"I understand that you propose to arrest me and turn me over to the Virginia authorities. I will not go to Salem to afford you the opportunity to make this arrest but if you wish to get me you can find me where I am at almost any time. I suggest that you get at least five men to aid you and I assure you that they will have plenty to do before they succeed in capturing me."

Mr. Bonsall said that it was well known that friends in the neighborhood would stand by Coppoc and no one had the courage to attempt to arrest him. He also recalled the excellent marksmanship of Barclay. A gray squirrel ran up a tree at some distance away and was passing to another tree. Coppoc drew his revolver and fired, apparently while the squirrel was still moving. At the first shot it fell to the ground.

Charles Bonsall is a Civil War veteran and served in the Third Kansas Regiment as we shall see later.

It was while Barclay Coppoc was with friends near Salem that he went to see a panorama of the Harper's Ferry raid presented in that town. Mrs. Mary Lease, of Salem, Ohio, eldest daughter of Dr. J. C. Whinnery, thus recalled Barclay Coppoc's presence at this exhibition:

"When Barclay Coppoc returned to Salem, after his return from Harper's Ferry and Canada, he was kept secreted and constantly guarded. During this period a travelling company with a panorama of Harper's Ferry, the arsenal, the scaffold, and the route that Barclay travelled to Iowa, came to Salem. Barclay insisted on seeing it, despite all pleadings and dissuasions, notwithstanding that there was a reward of \$1,000 offered for his head, and the fact that some of the people were watching for

him. So he went, disguised and surrounded by his friends, the whole party well armed. It was agreed that no one of the party should speak a word, in the building; but that Barclay should indicate his approval of what was correctly shown by slightly inclining his head. But he became so absorbed as to forget all precautions and when a scene came on that displeased him he raised his hand in a violent gesture and I caught and held it just in time to prevent his betraying himself." (See note 2, page 450.)

On July 4, 1860, a number of the followers of John Brown, including Barclay Coppoc, are said to have been at the home of John Brown, Jr., in Ashtabula County. Later in the year he returned to Kansas and in company with a few other men went into Missouri, liberated and ran off a number of slaves. Later he very nearly lost his life in a trap set by a man under the assumed name of Charley Hart, who pretended to favor the Free State cause and the freedom of the negroes. This man persuaded Barclay Coppoc and some of his associates to make another raid into Missouri to help some Jackson County slaves to freedom. They were ambushed and Barclay almost lost his life. Two of his party were killed, the others escaped. "Charley Hart" who planned the capture of the party was himself an Ohio man, who afterwards was known as the famous Confederate guerrilla, Quantrill,* whose name became a terror on the western border early in the Civil War.

The election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860 and his inauguration later radically changed the status of Barclay Coppoc. The same statutes remained but there was

* William Clarke Quantrill was born at Canal Dover, Ohio, July 31, 1837, and died in a military prison at Louisville from wounds, June 6, 1865. William E. Connelley, Secretary of the Kansas Historical Society, has written the detailed history of his life in a large volume entitled *Quantrill and the Border Wars* which presents Quantrill as the terror among border ruffians with practically no devotion to principle and ever ready to betray his friends. He served as a Confederate in the Civil War.

no longer serious thought of hunting down the remnants of the John Brown band. Barclay returned to his old home in Springdale and once more settled down quietly to farm work.

The year 1861 marked the marshalling in arms and the beginning of the Civil War. It is scarcely necessary to say that with his past record, his adventurous spirit and his hostility to slavery Barclay Coppoc could not long remain inactive in the quiet village of Springdale. He was no longer a fugitive from justice. The part that he had taken at Harper's Ferry had ceased to make him an object of aversion to all except his closest friends. Occasionally to someone who had not known him he was pointed out as one of John Brown's men who had escaped from the foray into Virginia. His part in that event was gradually making him an object of distinction rather than reproach. Possibly as he thought over the past he recalled the words of his brother Edwin, in the letter to his uncle Joshua:

"The time may come when he will remember me and the time may come when he will still further remember the cause in which I die. Thank God, the principles of the cause in which we were engaged will not die with me and my brave comrades. They will spread wider and wider, and gather strength with each hour that passes. The voice of truth will echo through our land, bringing conviction to the erring, and adding numbers to that glorious army who will follow its banner."

Was not that army already forming under the flag of the Republic and was not the call for volunteers especially to men of the spirit of Barclay Coppoc? He evidently felt so, for on the 24th day of July, 1861, he was commissioned first lieutenant in Company C, Third

Regiment,* Kansas Volunteer Infantry, and was mustered into service six days later. And now in a uniform of blue he was recruiting other young men to proceed with all possible haste to the theater of war. As the days passed, in spite of his modest demeanor and reticence, he was more and more an object of interest to his comrades because of the dangers that he faced at Harper's Ferry and in the long flight through Pennsylvania and Ohio. What distinction might not come to him in the great conflict between the North and the South?

At last he with a few of his comrades was moving southward. The Confederates had been waging an active guerrilla warfare in Missouri. They had blown up culverts and committed other bold assaults in the northwestern part of that state under the shadows of night. The train on which Coppoc was a passenger had been delayed. All danger was thought behind them and they were expecting soon to reach their destination. Suddenly the train plunged through a burning bridge into the Platte River of Missouri, and the darkness was rent with the shrieks of the wounded and dying. The Confederate guerrillas had set the bridge on fire and without a word of warning the train, crowded with passengers, plunged a distance of forty feet into the River. About twenty-five passengers were killed. Among the number fatally injured was Lieutenant Barclay Coppoc. One of the survivors of the wreck, Mr. W. R. Ramsey, of the Government Printing Office, Washington, in 1899 wrote:

* In this regiment Charles Bonsall, of Salem, afterward enlisted.

"Of the ninety or more passengers on board (men, women, children and soldiers) very few escaped uninjured and many (about twenty-five) were killed, among the latter being Lieutenant Coppoc. I saw him at the St. Joe Hotel the day after the accident, and how he survived twenty-four hours with the frightful wound in his head * * * was a miracle, as very few men could have withstood the shock." (See note 2, page 450.)

The *Daily Conservative* of Leavenworth, Kansas, in its issue of September 5, 1861, gives a very full account of the disaster at the Platte River bridge. From this we learn that the train plunged into the river at about eleven o'clock at night. The heavens were clouded and a heavy darkness overhung the scene of the tragedy. A few of the passengers escaped uninjured and these made heroic efforts to save others. Some went to St. Joseph, nine miles distant, and others to Easton to bring aid. It was four o'clock the next morning before a relief train arrived.

The *Conservative* of September 6 contains an account of the funeral which is here quoted in full:

"The burial of B. Coppoc and C. Fording, two of the victims of the unparalleled atrocity of last Tuesday night, took place yesterday from the Mansion House.

"Coppoc, recently from Iowa, was a young man of noble soul and undaunted courage, and held the position of Lieut. in the company of Capt. Allen, in Col. Montgomery's regiment. Barclay Coppoc was with John Brown in the raid on Virginia; his brother Edwin was captured and hung but Barclay escaped. He fled in company with Captain Cook and succeeded in eluding pursuit when his companion was taken. There was nothing of the bravado about him. Religiously anti-slavery, he endeavored solely to do what he considered his duty. C. Fording was a young man who was coming with him from Ohio to join the same company.

"The Home Guards, Fencibles, and the Old Guard led the procession while a large concourse of our most influential citizens followed the hearses containing the remains to the cemetery on Pilot Knob. The companies of Captain Swoyer and Jenkins were with the procession part of the distance.

"At the graves, Rev. Mr. Paddock delivered an earnest, soul-stirring prayer, and at about five o'clock the remains were committed to the ground. A military salute was then fired over the graves."*

And thus the lives of these two young brothers, Edwin and Barclay Coppoc, which began among the peaceful scenes and surroundings in a Quaker community of Columbiana County, Ohio, after many vicissitudes, each had a tragic ending. Their devotion to principle and the courage with which they lived and died in the service of what they esteemed a righteous cause — a cause that was soon to triumph throughout the Republic — entitle them to a place in the history of the Buckeye State.

THE MOTHER OF EDWIN AND BARCLAY COPPOC.

The mother of Edwin and Barclay Coppoc was a staunch advocate of the reforms that were popular among the Quakers of Columbiana County in the early half of the last century. She was strongly opposed to slavery and her two sons owed their hostility to that institution, in no small measure to her teaching. She did not wish to see them join John Brown. She had already lost three children and she felt that the enterprise upon which they were venturing was a very dangerous one. After they had given up their lives to the cause that she held sacred, however, one on the scaffold and the other in the Union army, she accepted the results with remarkable calmness and stated that she felt honored in the sacrifice they had made.

At the time of the funeral of Edwin Coppoc she was almost totally blind. In a letter to Rev. North, who visited her son in jail at Charles-town, she wrote:

"Every son of America whom you send to the North with the prints of the accursed halter upon his neck and whose funeral is attended by assembled thousands, has a tendency to kindle the fires of indignation and hatred against the common cause, slavery, which is at the bottom of all of this."

Her only remaining child, Joseph L. Coppoc, enlisted in the Union army and rose to the rank of major. He was for many years a minister in the Baptist Church. His contribution to the *Midland Monthly* of September, 1895, entitled "John Brown and His Cause," is a spirited defense and eulogy of Brown. He died at Chambers, Nebraska, in 1914.

* From typewritten copy contributed by William E. Connelly, Secretary of the Kansas Historical Society.

THIS HOUSE WAS ONE OF THE DWELLINGS IN
CAMPUS MARTIUS, THE FORTIFICATION ER-
ECTED BY THE OHIO COMPANY WHEN THE
FIRST SETTLEMENT IN THE NORTHWEST
TERRITORY WAS MADE AT MARIETTA IN 1788.
IT STOOD NEXT TO THE SOUTHEAST BLOCK-
HOUSE AND WAS BUILT BY

GENERAL RUFUS PUTNAM

WHO MADE IT HIS HOME UNTIL HIS DEATH.
IN 1824, IT THEN BECAME THE PROPERTY OF
JUDGE ARIUS NYE FROM WHOSE DAUGHTER,
MINERVA TUPPER NYE IT WAS PURCHASED
IN 1919 BY THE STATE OF OHIO.



ERECTED BY THE OHIO DAUGHTERS OF
THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION IN 1921.

TABLET ON CAMPUS MARTINS HOUSE

Unveiled September 28, 1921.

UNVEILING OF TABLET AT CAMPUS MARTIUS.

A number of interesting functions attended the unveiling of the tablet on the Campus Martius House, September 28, 1921, as the most historical spot in the state. The exercises were conducted under the auspices of the Daughters of the American Revolution who selected this spot and presented the tablet.

On the evening of September 27, Mr. Edward MacTaggart threw open his stately old home "The Anchorage" to the members of the Daughters of the American Revolution and their guests. A local paper described this as one of the most brilliant functions ever given in Marietta. Mr. MacTaggart welcomed the guests to the spacious hall with its "exquisite tapestries, superb rugs and carved chests imported from Florence." Miss Ida Merydith, Regent of the Marietta Chapter, D. A. R., led the receiving line. Later the guests were conducted to the dining room, "quite baronial with its high walnut wainscot, lofty ceiling and handsome furnishings, all aglow with innumerable candles in many-branched candelabra." The reception will long be remembered by those who were so fortunate as to be present.

The program rendered at the Campus Martius House on the following day was well timed, appropriate and successfully carried out in every detail. The exercises opened with a bugle call by Bugler Adolph Corwin, followed by an invocation by Dr. E. S. Parsons, President of Marietta College. Mrs. William Magee Wilson, State Regent of the Daughters of the American Revolution, was then introduced and spoke as follows:

"Madam Regent and Members of Marietta Chapter, Ohio Daughters of the American Revolution and Friends:

"Many years ago it was my pleasure to witness a play by John Drew. It was so long ago that only a single sentence uttered by that famous actor has stayed with me through the years. The beginning of the play pictured a gay young lover and his sweetheart. In the closing scene the lover appears as a feeble old man; he gazes tenderly upon a faded bit of flower which long ago had lost its color, but as the sweet scent came from it he was reminded of his youth and of the sweetheart who had given it to him. Tenderly he looks at it and murmurs, 'Rosemary, that's for remembrance.'

"Last night one of the gracious ladies of Marietta bestowed upon me this fragrant bunch of Rosemary, which I hold in my hand. I shall keep it through the years and as I look upon it I shall think, 'Rosemary, that's for remembrance,' remembrance of this day and this tablet to be unveiled and all that it stands for in the past and means for the future.

"As members of the National Society of the Daughters of the American Revolution we are ever under orders from the superior organization. The Chapters take orders from the State organization and the States from the National Society. One of the directions of this National Society to be carried out by states and chapters is the marking of historic spots.

"To keep in remembrance sacred and historic spots is our duty as well as our pleasure. Our duty, that future generations may know to whom and to what they owe so much; and it is surely our pleasure to keep green these memory places that we may, now and then, in our busy lives, pause in reverence before them lest *we* forget.

"The leading figure in this work, the culmination of which we are here to celebrate, is Ohio's very capable State Chairman of Historic Spots, and it is my great privilege to present to you this Chairman, Mrs. Eugene G. Kennedy of Dayton, Ohio."

Mrs. Kennedy stepped forward, unveiled the tablet and presented it in the following address:

"Madame State Regent, Gentlemen of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, Daughters and Friends of Marietta:

"The event we are celebrating today — the unveiling of this tablet upon Campus Martius House — marks the culmination of the work of several Daughters for several years. These Daughters have worked zealously in behalf of Campus Martius

House, and it is a great satisfaction to them now to know that the House is to be preserved by the State of Ohio for future generations.

"It seems too bad to me that old houses cannot talk, for what a wonderful story this old house could tell us of the brave and hardy men, who came from the East into the wilderness of the Ohio Country. It could give us an account of all the hardships they endured and thrilling tales of Indian warfare, and also stories of the simple joys of pioneer life, for all was not sadness. And then to think of its story of all of the past 131 years during the progress of a beautiful city growing up at its very feet.

"Marietta is to be congratulated upon having this old house within its borders, the oldest house of five states, and the Marietta chapter that is to make its home within these doors will draw added inspiration, I know, from the memory of the early pioneers, who once lived here.

"The Ohio Daughters have placed this tablet in order to show their appreciation of the historic value of the old House, with the hopes that the tablet will instruct the present generation and the generations to come in regard to its past history and its remarkable old age.

"It is my honor and privilege to present this tablet to the custodians of this House for the State of Ohio, the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, in the name of the Ohio Daughters of the American Revolution."

Mr. C. B. Galbreath, secretary of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, then in the name of the State accepted the tablet and spoke as follows:

"Madam Regent, Daughters of the American Revolution and friends:

"In behalf of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society, I accept this beautiful and enduring tablet which appropriately marks this historic spot; by your decision the most historic within the limits of the Buckeye State. May this be prophetic of a larger and more substantial memorial to the inauguration, on this ground, of universal liberty in America. The magna charta of 1787, here first made effective, now finds expression in the constitution of our Republic and fruition in our American civilization.

"Here I might close, for the gracious presentation to which we have listened and the scholarly address which we are about to hear will include all that is fitting to this occasion.

"We stand, indeed, on historic and consecrated ground. Hither, in the obscure and distant past, came the mysterious mound builder and raised his monument to a culture and an age that 'has no memory.' Hither in the early half of the eighteenth century came the French and English traders to exchange goods with the Indians, who ruled the primeval forests that covered these valleys and crowned these everlasting hills. Hither in 1749, came the chivalrous Celoron, with his soldiers and Indian allies to take formal possession of the Ohio country in the name of the French crown.' Here, one hundred and seventy-two years ago, they lingered to hunt the wild game with which the forest abounded. Yonder, on the western point of land formed by the confluence of the Muskingum and the Ohio, they planted one of the six famous leaden plates—the only one deposited in Ohio soil—and with solemn formalities took possession of the land in the name of their King.

"The pretensions of the French monarch were brought to naught by the victory of Wolfe on the Plains of Abraham above Quebec, and here, for a time, the white man plied his trade with the natives under the British flag.

"Here the revolution brought magic changes. Out of the wilderness rose Fort Harmer and above its bastions floated the stars and stripes, signalling the westward course of a new empire. Here a little later in brighter light that flag waved above Campus Martius at the inauguration of civil government in the Northwest Territory. Here that starry emblem still waves—and shall wave for generations yet to be.

"Hither came 'bold Putnam and his pioneers,' and here today an organization of the descendents of the revolutionary forefathers honors their memory under these September skies, in the harvest time of the seed sown in the long ago.

"We need not dwell on the character of the men who abjured slavery and here laid the foundations of civil and religious liberty for all. A patriot, whose memory is cherished throughout the world, has told us all that we need to know.

"Down on the river bank, in front of the hotel yonder, is a granite boulder, bearing the legend that in 1825 a boat landed there, with the 'nation's guest,' the chivalrous Lafayette, the 'knight of liberty' in Europe and America, whose spirit after the flight of more than a century stirred the hearts of our khaki-clad legions and made them invincible on the far flung battle line in France.

"When Lafayette came to Marietta in 1825, what did he say of the pioneers who inaugurated free government within the precincts of Campus Martius? When the list of their names was read to him, he said:

"I knew them all. I saw them at the Brandywine, Yorktown and Rhode Island. They were the bravest of the brave."

"The people of this city, who take a just pride in an illustrious ancestry, should invoke the art of the sculptor to chisel in adamantine rock these words of Lafayette

"We who participate in these ceremonies are more than honored in the presence of the descendents of these patriots and the contemplation of the marvels of progress wrought under the free government that they instituted. We are signally honored and the state of Ohio is under obligation to Minerva Tupper Nye, who has given liberally and worked patiently that the story of Campus Martius shall not be forgotten—that this inspiring lesson shall go down to succeeding generations.

"The Daughters of the American Revolution deserve high praise for their interest in marking and directing public attention to the spots hallowed by our incomparable history. Through such memorials the past speaks eternally to the present. The monuments to Miltiades at Marathon would not let Grecian valor sleep. The minute man at Concord Bridge and the old monument on Bunker Hill are yet eloquent in patriotic appeal. Faneuil Hall and Independence Hall are still citadels of American liberty. In our own state we have monuments to St. Clair in defeat and to Perry in victory. The fact remains that this spot, where liberty raised its voice in the wilderness and free government became an established fact, has this site and this ancient building, the home of General Rufus Putnam, as its only memorials.

"In bronze and granite we have paid tribute to our achievements in war. Today the universal heart yearns for universal peace. In the presence of the broken bodies of our boys who fell in foreign lands, every heart responds to the sentiment of the President—'It must never be again. It must never be again.'

"The victory achieved here was a victory for peace. This should be an auspicious time to build utilitarian monuments to peace; and in the entire Mississippi valley there is no more appropriate spot than this for such a memorial."

Dr. Edwin Erle Sparks of State College, Pennsylvania, then delivered the following historical address:

"On this significant occasion, Madame Regent, Daughters of the American Revolution, and Friends, I rise to speak with mingled feelings of dissatisfaction and pride. The dissatisfaction arises from my inability to do justice to an occasion which calls for oratory, for expression of our feelings in compelling

words and stimulating patriotism. But that is overbalanced by my pride in having been born an Ohio man; in being permitted to rejoice with you, my fellow Ohioans, at the successful culmination of this laudable enterprise. It is said that Northern citizens in Washington after hearing the reply of Daniel Webster to Hayne, went about the streets crying, 'Thank God, I am an American!' Likewise might we rejoice today in being children of the great commonwealth of Ohio.

"Some wise man has well said that the nation which allows its history and its traditions to die must itself soon perish from the earth. In all times and in all nations has respect been paid to the past. The Greeks rejoiced in the heroes of Thermopylæ and in their descent from the Olympian gods. The Romans delighted in the legend of Romulus and Remus and the Spaniards in the conquests of the Cid. Charles Martel is dear to the French and Alfred the Great to the English.

"Nor would we Americans willingly lose the story of the colonial economist, Benjamin Franklin, who set the pattern and maxims of a national thrift which we seem to be losing now. We keep alive the story of the Virginia farmer who saved us by the valor of his sword and then, as President, set the pattern for American neutrality. Jefferson, the author of the Declaration of Independence and the Statute of Virginia for religious freedom is remembered with Daniel Webster the defender of the constitution. Embalmed in sweet fragrance is the story of Abraham Lincoln, who, in 1863, furthered the emancipation of the colored race in America, so well begun in the Ordinance of the Northwest Territory.

"We are met here today as grateful heirs of America's past to keep alive the stories and traditions of the people who planted this Northwestern region, from which have sprung five great commonwealths, embodying the heart of the continent. *Imperia in imperio*—if one may take liberties with what, for a brief two years, was our motto. We are endeavoring by this tablet to keep alive precious and invaluable stories of the past; to perpetuate the memories of the hardy men and women who planted civilization on the vanguard of the advance across the American continent; to hand down the traditions and memories of their valor as priceless heritages and worthy examples to present and coming generations of Americans. In the language of the Emancipator at the dedication of the Gettysburg battlefield: 'The world will little note nor long remember what we say here, but it can never forget what they did here.'

"The conquest of a continent—how was it done? With what purpose in mind? History records the advance of Attila and his semi-savages over the civilized empire of Rome, having

a destructive purpose and accomplishing their devastation in such a manner as to make the terms "Hun" and "Vandal" a stench in the nostrils of mankind. Later the Seljukian Turk overspread a territory almost as vast, carrying in one hand the scimeter and in the other the Koran and giving civilization the choice of their religion or death. The Saxon invasion of Britain and the later coming of William the Conqueror had in mind but one purpose — conquest and subjugation.

"Contrast with these the conquest of the North American continent by a people of English speech and the inheritance of the best traits of ages past. They marched straight across the three thousand miles of forest, valley, desert and mountain with a supernatural power and inspiration. As De Tocqueville says, 'Like a people driven on by the relentless hand of God.' Four generations brought the Revolution; and the waves of restless people which beat against the Allegheny Mountains had penetrated its openings or "gaps" and found their way into Tennessee, Kentucky and then into the magnificent Ohio Valley.

"To this advance line of people has been given the name "pioneers" and them Whitman addresses as the pathmakers for us who follow:

"Have you your pistols? Have you your sharp-edged axes?

Pioneers! O pioneers!

For we cannot tarry here,

We must march, my darlings, we must bear the brunt of danger,
We the youthful, sinewy races, all the rest on us depend."

"When Daniel Boone penetrated the Cumberland Gap into Kentucky and Tennessee, that was the frontier; when the Yankees came from Massachusetts to settle on the banks of the Ohio on the spot whereon we stand, the frontier had crossed into the Northwest Territory; when the Rev. George W. Gale and his fellow pioneers adventured from New York state by boat and wagon to plant the church and Knox college on the Illinois prairies, the frontier had well-nigh reached the western limits of the Territory. So the people advanced across the Great Plains, penetrated the Rockies and the Sierras and filled the Pacific Coast Plain. Now the land is full of people, feverish, longing, working for things better and higher than they have known.

"For a moment, let us compare the advance of these people with that of the Huns, the Turks, the Saxons and the Normans. The purpose of our fathers was not the subjugation of others and despoiling them of their land. From the time that William Penn set the pattern, the standard of action was to recognize

the rights of the Indians to their lands. Our pioneer forebears never lost sight of their inherited civilization and never let it be lowered. Their ambition was to make new homes in the wilderness and to make it blossom like the rose. This is well illustrated by a schedule of events that took place on this spot after the arrival of the artisans and surveyors under the direction of Gen. Rufus Putnam, whose memory we are especially honoring today.

"Whilst they carved homes out of the wilderness, they showed that they were practical and realized the danger surrounding them. Each man was obliged to provide himself with a weapon and with proper ammunition. Among the first structures they erected on the banks of this noble river were four blockhouses, stoutly built for defence, with private dwellings so situated as to make curtains between the blockhouses. To the whole they gave the name, characteristic of the classical period of the day, Campus Martius.

"Less than three months from the time they landed came the Fourth of July, the natal day of the Republic. These hardy men, busied in their preparations for the coming of their women and children, laid aside their saws, their broad-axes and their grubbing hoes to build a "bowery" of green branches on the river's bank wherein they celebrated the nation's birthday precisely as they had been taught and as their fellows were celebrating back home. A few days later, Governor St. Clair, appointed by the Continental Congress, arrived as the embodiment of civic authority and was properly received and accepted as the representative of their master government. Later a procession was again formed and the civil courts were installed in the crude log building known as the Northwest blockhouse.

"In thus installing the law and order of the older civilization they had left in Massachusetts, they did not forget that spiritual atmosphere in which they had founded their state on the rocks of Plymouth Bay. The second story of the Northwest blockhouse, to which I have already referred, was made into a large room accommodating three hundred people. It was to be used for the public or community service and there, early in August or possibly July was preached the first sermon in the first ordained settlement in the Northwest Territory. In fact, the company owning the land, so recognized the necessity for spiritual aid and comfort that they employed as preacher and teacher for several years the Rev. Daniel Story, who set the pattern for the thousands of teachers and thousands of free schools now scattered over the Northwest country.

"Thus was it proved that religious freedom and the right to think and to worship God according to the dictates of in-

dividual conscience did not necessarily lead to atheism and anarchy of thought in a people inheriting high moral standards and anxious to transmit them to their posterity. I had almost forgotten to mention the revered name of Mrs. Baker, who within three years after the founding of the settlement, noticing that the children were not receiving spiritual teaching, gathered them together probably in the public room of the Northwest fort room and organized a Sunday School. It is to be remembered that this was only three years after Robert Raikes, in England, was said to have established the Sunday School as a new and novel factor in religious training for the young.

"I will not take your time in describing the hardships and the triumphs of this colony. Not a person within sound of my voice has not heard the details over and over. It has all been told in song and story. I am satisfied to have pointed out the relation of this settlement to the westward movement of the American people; to show that the object of the settlers was purely altruistic; that they carried with them their religion, their patriotism, their standards of conduct and their zeal for government. These they established early in their frontier life. They were practical men, preparing the way for the hardy women who arrived amidst great rejoicing in the early Autumn to share the privations of their husbands and fathers.

"The hardships endured by the pioneer women will never be known. They were uncomplaining. Whilst the father strode ahead with the trusty rifle over his shoulder, the mother tried to guide the horse or horses over the rough road, holding to her breast the baby and anxious for the safety of her other children on the journey. Not all travelled under the care and comforts of a land company. And their privations were continued and increased in the new home in the wilderness, far removed from friends and kindred. When Lincoln's mother died in that lonely cabin in southern Indiana, we find from later investigation that the nearest physician lived eighteen miles away. When the boy went to bed, he climbed up the pegs set into the logs of the cabin and stretched his wearied body on a pallet made of hay and corn-husks. Yet the very hardships and privations of frontier life, far removed from Old World influence, was making the originality that marked the great man both in his private life and manners and in dealing with problems affecting the very preservation of the Union.

"The women of America, our foremothers, worthy ancestors of these worthy Daughters who follow, acted as conservators of the sense of justice, of law and order and of domestic tranquillity inherited and put into effect by the men of that day. These factors had not yet been entrusted to woman's hands

but the home influence was felt in the administration of public life. To the women was due largely the splendid execution of the provision of the Ordinance governing the Northwest Territory which says: 'Religion, morality and knowledge being necessary to good government and the happiness of mankind, schools and the means of education shall forever be encouraged.'

"It is most fitting, therefore, that this tablet which we unveil today, should have been placed upon this house by the women of Ohio, constituting the Daughters of the American Revolution. It is fitting because it is placed upon a private dwelling, symbolical of the domestic life brought by these pioneers to this Ohio valley in 1788. I can think of no activity in which this organization of those in whose veins pulse the blood of Revolutionary heroes could do better work than the marking and preserving of historic places. If the work is continued as planned, the state of Ohio is to be congratulated on the possession of women of vision, women who insure the retention of our history and traditions, women who put these memories into beautiful and permanent form.

"I venture at this time to make a dedication of this tablet and this house, both the property of the public and of the future generations, as represented by the throng of school children I see about me and who have given such polite attention. This tablet I dedicate to the preservation of American traditions and stories; to a history that shall not be allowed to perish from the earth. I dedicate it to the characteristics of the American pioneers, the ability to endure hardships, to welcome toil and hardships for the sake of the future, to save and spare for future safety and comfort. I dedicate it to the principles of law and order, of government and religion, of enlightenment and education, which these pioneers brought with them into the wilderness. Finally I dedicate it to the use of the American people, to be a shrine, a Mecca, to which pilgrimages may be made as they are now made to Mt. Vernon there to renew vows of fealty to country, to toil, to hardship, to thrift—all for the sake of preserving a national character given to us by these forefathers. Long may such inspiration be given to us. Tablet of domestic life, the embodiment of the American home—*esto perpetua*—remain forever!"

At the conclusion of Dr. Sparks' address Mrs. Wilson introduced Mrs. Austin C. Branch of Canton; Mrs. L. C. Laylin, of Columbus; Miss Willia Cotton, of Marietta; Mrs. Theodore Davis and Miss Burlingame,

who responded briefly as did also Miss Minerva Tupper Nye, through whose interest and generosity the Campus Martius properly was transferred to the state.

The addresses were delivered from the large flagstone at the south entrance of the Campus Martius building, to about one thousand people who were comfortably assembled in the street opposite which had been enclosed for the occasion. The exercises closed a few minutes before the noon hour. The Campus Martius House was thrown open and visited through the remainder of the day by those who attended the meeting.

Shortly after twelve o'clock the members of the Marietta Chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution and their guests, about one hundred in number, went to the Unitarian Church where luncheon was served in rooms tastefully decorated for the occasion. Following the luncheon addresses were made by representatives of the Daughters of the American Revolution from Ohio chapters and the other states formed from the original Northwest Territory, — Indiana, Illinois, Michigan and Wisconsin. Among the the speakers were Mrs. J. B. Foraker, Mrs. Edwin Erle Sparks and Mrs. Wayne Cook, National Vice-regent of the D. A. R.

The weather was ideal. The exercises and entertainment were much to the credit of the committees and officers of the D. A. R. who had carefully planned the details of this patriotic and inspiring occasion.

OHIO STATE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL
SOCIETY.

REVIEWS, NOTES AND COMMENTS

BY THE EDITOR

A VISIT FROM BENJAMIN LUNDY

A letter of Ruth Galbreath, wife of Nathan Galbreath, dated "New Garden, Ohio, 2nd mo. 3rd, 1833," contains among other things a description of a visit from Benjamin Lundy which may be of interest to readers of this issue of the QUARTERLY, as it expresses the regard of Columbiana County Quakers for this reformer and bears testimony to the fact that he was a not infrequent visitor in eastern Ohio at this time. The letter in part is as follows:

"I had the very great gratification of seeing B. Lundy last fall. He gave us a call and took tea with us, and I must tell something of the manner of his introduction. I happened to be alone in the kitchen. * * * I was very much engaged in my household concerns when I heard a knocking at the front door with the head of a cane, by which I inferred that it was a man. So I thought he might knock away until he was tired and then come down to the kitchen door, but finding he continued to knock I at length called out, 'Come in,' more than once, but the knocking still continued, and seeing no alternative, I with the implement I was using ran hastily up and met at the door a little strange looking man of no very interesting appearance. The first thought that struck me was that he was a school master, come to be examined, Nathan having performed the office of examiner since the institution of district schools. I invited him into the sitting room, left him and dispatched a messenger for Nathan (for the man had asked for him) and resumed my work in the kitchen. When Nathan came, he went up to the room and soon returned to the head of the stairs and called in an animated tone of voice desiring me to come up. I dropped my work in an instant, say-

ing to myself, 'Who can it be?' and adjusting as I went my cap and handkerchief I entered the room; but my astonishment at hearing the name of Benjamin Lundy may be more easily imagined than described. The next moment presented him to my mind as an imposter. I sat down to try if I could be satisfied by listening to their conversation. I was soon convinced and perceiving him to be hard of hearing (which accounted for his knocking after I had said 'Come in') I took my chair and sat close to him and (call me not enthusiastic) I devoured every word with the keenest avidity. Indeed I so far forgot my work in the kitchen that I was obliged to force myself out of the room to give orders for tea. I mentioned to him something of my surprise and he related to me an anecdote of a man he saw in his route who, like me, had heard of him but had not seen him and said he expected to see a great fellow six feet high. I told him I was not so much deceived in the height but I expected to see more breadth of face as well as hat.

"What a powerful thing prejudice is and how this idol's plainness has been and continues to be worshiped. Had B. L. appeared amongst us in a straight drab coat and a broad white hat, I am well persuaded he would have excited infinitely more attention and interest than he did, and I cordially confess had he appeared in the garb I have mentioned and instead of a cane in one hand and a bundle in the other [had] come riding in a nice plain carriage or even on a good horse, I should instantly have seen the necessity, or at least the propriety, of treating him with attention and respect; and very sure I am he would have gained more subscribers to his paper among us orthodox Hicksites. I think it is much to be lamented that the form and color of our clothing should be considered in our Society of such vast importance that we cannot believe men or women can be what they ought to be without this token of sanctity and mark of a Quaker, forgetting, it would seem, that He whose followers we profess to be has not said, 'By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples if ye have drab coats and white hats;' but 'if ye love one another,' and taking another precept from the same lips, namely, 'Every tree is known by its fruits,' can we forbear to acknowledge that B. Lundy's claim to the title of discipleship appears at least as strong as those who would not on any account vary one tittle in the cut or color of their garments from what Quakerism has been thought to require.

"B. told us he believed himself as much in his place as any man would, whatever by the character of the service to which he was called, and I firmly believed it too, notwithstanding it was some time, as I have hinted, before I became entirely satisfied that a man with a lappelled coat, a high crowned hat and large

whiskers (and red ones too, mind, how would it look?) could be devoted to the best of causes, following the Divine Master in humility of soul. Yet such I believe is the fact. But you will say, why mention red? She knows he can't change the color. True, but why not cut them off, for surely red looks fiercer than black."

The portraits of Benjamin Lundy, so far as we have seen them, represent him with a smooth face. At the time mentioned by the writer he evidently had cultivated an ample beard of war-like color.

THOMAS CORWIN MENDENHALL

Thomas Corwin Mendenhall, whose contribution on *The Coffin of Edwin Coppoc* appears in this issue, is one whose name ranks high among America's eminent scholars and educators. He was born on a farm in Columbiana County, Ohio, near the villages of Hanoverton and New Garden, October 4, 1841. His parents were Quakers, who shared the enthusiastic hostility to slavery that characterized the pioneers of that faith who settled in eastern Ohio early in the last century. They lived at the time of his birth near the Coppoc neighborhood and were later deeply stirred, as were their children, by the events at Harper's Ferry and Charlestown following John Brown's invasion of Virginia and the execution of Edwin Coppoc. With this antecedent inheritance and environment, it is readily understood with what enthusiasm Dr. Mendenhall, when a young teacher in the Salem High School, entered into the celebration of General Lee's surrender and how naturally the Coppoc coffin with the effigy of the general suggested itself to him as an appropriate memento to be borne at the head of the procession.

Dr. Mendenhall was educated in the public schools, was one of the members of the first faculty of the Ohio State University, was called to the Imperial University of Japan where he occupied the chair of physics from 1878-1881; returned to Ohio State University where he taught three years, after which he was successively professor of the U. S. Signal Corps, President of Rose Polytechnic Institute, Superintendent of the U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey and President of Worcester Polytechnic Institute. From 1901-1912 he was in Europe. Degrees have been conferred upon him by a number of colleges and universities in America and he has been decorated with the Order of the Sacred Treasure of Japan and honored with a gold medal from the National Educational Society of Japan. He is at present a trustee of the Ohio State University, where he celebrated his eightieth birthday this month. He is author of a *Century of Electricity*. His home is in Ravenna, Ohio.

BARCLAY COPPOC AND THE JACKSON COUNTY, MISSOURI, TRAGEDY

Rev. John J. Lutz, a native of Wayne County, Ohio and later a citizen of Kansas, wrote for the Kansas Historical Society an article on "Quantrill and the Morgan Walker Tragedy" (Kansas Historical Collections, Vol. 8, pages 324-331) in which he says that Richard J. Hinton is in error in regard to the participation of Barclay Coppoc in this affair. The three young men who were killed through the perfidy of Quantrill were Charles Ball, Chalkley T. Lipsey and Edwin S. Morrison. Charles Ball was born in Salem, Ohio, in the year 1837. He was first cousin of Edwin and Bar-

clay Coppoc. His relationship to the Coppocs may have led Hinton into an error which has been repeated by many subsequent writers. Barclay Coppoc, however, was in Kansas about this time and was closely associated with those who were aiding negroes to escape from Missouri. Whether he actually had any part in this particular raid is a question.

Chaulkley T. Lipsey was born at Mount Pleasant, Ohio, in 1838. Ball came from Springdale, Iowa, to Kansas. All three of the young men who lost their lives were Quakers.

LEVI COPPOC AT ANTIOCH COLLEGE

It has frequently been reported in the public press that Edwin Coppoc, who was with John Brown at Harper's Ferry, was at one time a student at Antioch College, Yellow Springs, Ohio. A letter recently addressed to the librarian of the college, Emily Turner, brought the following reply:

"We do not find in any of our catalogs the name of Edwin Coppoc. The name of Levi Coppoc appears as a student in 1853-1854. Springdale, Iowa, was given as his address. James Coppock, of West Milton, Ohio, was a student in 1855-1856."

Levi Coppoc was an elder brother of Edwin Coppoc, as already stated on another page of this issue of the *QUARTERLY*. As West Milton, now Milton, was settled by Quakers, it is probable that James Coppock was also related to Edwin.

THE BRYAN-HAYES CORRESPONDENCE

The October number of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* contains the first installment of the cor-

respondence between Rutherford Birchard Hayes and his college classmate and intimate friend, Guy Morrison Bryan. The two were members of the same college club at Kenyon. After graduation Mr. Bryan returned to Texas. Of opposite political views and identified in sympathy with their respective sections, their warm personal friendship extended over many years and their correspondence was unbroken except through the period of the Civil War, when they were serving in opposing armies in support of their convictions. Soon after the close of the war the correspondence was renewed. When Hayes became President he invited Colonel Bryan to Washington where he entertained him for three weeks and counseled with him in regard to southern conditions and needs.

The civil and military record of Hayes is well known. His friend, Bryan, entered the Confederate army as a private and rose to the rank of colonel. After the war he served four terms in the Legislature of Texas — one term as speaker.

Portions of the correspondence will appear in each issue of the *Southwestern Historical Quarterly* until publication is complete, which, we learn from the editor, will be about three years hence. The first contribution covers twenty pages.

ARCHÆOLOGICAL WORK IN OHIO

Within the past year many complimentary notices have been published of the work in archæology conducted by our Society under the direction of Dr. William C. Mills. *The Wisconsin Magazine of History* for June quotes approvingly and at length from a letter of Dr.

Mills and declares that "friends of the movement in this state (Wisconsin) for the preservation of our historic sites should gain encouragement from this record of achievement by our elder neighbor."

Under date of November 17, 1920, Mr. Clark Wissler, Chairman of the Division of Anthropology and Psychology of the National Research Council writes, "There is a general movement on now for the development of state archæological surveys in the middle west similar to what has been done in Ohio. You will see by the enclosed that the National Research Council has taken the initiative in this matter and that we are pointing to Ohio as the one beautiful example."

Much favorable comment has resulted from the publication of the Archæological Atlas by our Society. In a circular letter issued by the National Research Council we find the following suggestion relative to an intensive study of the prehistoric population of the Mississippi Valley:

"The initial approach to this problem is an archæological survey of the states of Illinois, Indiana, Iowa and Missouri, with a view to determining the different types of the remains of the prehistoric population, together with their distribution, so that it may be possible to publish an archæological atlas for each state, comparable with that issued for the State of Ohio."

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF OHIO NEWSPAPERS

The American Antiquarian Society is publishing in parts a Bibliography of American Newspapers from 1690 to 1820. Part XI appeared in the Proceedings of that Society for April, 1919. It is a bibliography of Ohio newspapers for the period from the issue of the *Centinal of the Northwestern Territory*, November 9,

1793, to the close of the year 1820. It covers forty-nine pages and gives all the issues of the various newspapers that have thus far been traced within the period named. It is a most valuable contribution and will be of special interest to those engaged in research work in Ohio history for references to dates earlier than 1821.

In the June number of the *Indiana Magazine of History* was published the first contribution of an interesting series of articles on "The Savage Allies of the Northwest," by Elmore Barce. Much of this is of special interest to readers of Ohio history as it contains descriptions of St. Clair's defeat, the battle of Fallen Timbers and other stirring events of border warfare prior to the War of 1812.

William A. Harrison, 196 East State St., Columbus, Ohio, presented to the library of the Society 184 bound volumes. Mr. Almer Hegler presented the library 115 bound and 42 unbound volumes including a number of old almanacs.



THIRTY-SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE OHIO STATE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

CALL FOR ANNUAL MEETING.

COLUMBUS, October 1, 1921.

The annual meeting of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society will be held in the Museum and Library Building of the Society, Wednesday, October 12, 1921. The forenoon session, which opens at half past nine o'clock, will be devoted entirely to the reading of reports and other matters of routine business. It should not be concluded, however, that this session will be devoid of general interest. The members are therefore urged, if possible, to be present and hear the reports of the progress of the work of the Society through the past year.

In the afternoon, beginning at two o'clock, will be rendered a very interesting program. About one year ago there was received in the museum of the Society the largest single collection of John Brown relics to be found in any museum of this country. These were transferred to the custody of the Society by Mrs. T. B. Alexander, of Put-in-Bay, the granddaughter of John Brown. Since that time Mr. and Mrs. Daniel I. Richards of Salem, Ohio, have transferred to the library the coffin in which the body of Edwin Coppoc, one of John Brown's lieutenants, was sent to Salem, Ohio, after his execution at Charlestown, Virginia.

The afternoon session will be devoted in part to addresses on the anti-slavery controversy in Ohio with special reference to the Harper's Ferry raid. Some of the descendents of John Brown are expected to be present at the meeting.

Do not fail to be with us if you can possibly arrange to attend this interesting meeting.

Sincerely yours,

C. B. GALBREATH,

Secretary.

JAMES E. CAMPBELL, *President.*

MINUTES OF THE
THIRTY-SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING
OF
THE OHIO STATE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL
SOCIETY.

SOCIETY BUILDING,
COLUMBUS, OHIO,
October 12, 1921.
9:30 A. M.

The meeting was called to order by President Campbell.
The following members were present:

James E. Campbell,	William C. Mills,
E. F. Wood,	Henry J. Booth,
Daniel J. Ryan,	Daniel Hosmer Gard,
B. F. Prince,	W. D. McKinney,
Arthur C. Johnson,	H. R. McPherson,
George F. Bareis,	J. S. Roof,
Helen Bareis,	Frank Tallmadge,
Col. Webb C. Hayes,	Van A. Snider,
Mrs. Webb C. Hayes,	W. H. Cole,
Rev. W. M. McDermott,	Austin J. Wilson,
D. E. Buck,	H. C. Shetrone,
C. B. Galbreath,	C. W. Justice,
Prof. H. C. Hockett,	Miss Martha J. Maltby,
Mrs. Charles A. Covert,	Verne C. Rittenhouse,
Mrs. S. E. Reynolds,	Lee E. Dimond,
J. Frank Shumaker,	Charles S. Kay,
R. S. Dunlap,	Edith W. Kay.
Col. W. L. Curry,	

On motion of President Campbell, Mr. George F. Bareis acted as Chairman of the meeting.

SECRETARY'S REPORT.

The report of the Secretary, which at his request was informally passed, appears in full in the typewritten records of the Society. It is summarized here as follows:

"A meeting of the Board of Trustees was held in the office

of Mr. E. F. Wood, Treasurer of the Society, June 29, 1921, for the purpose of complying with the provisions of the 'reorganization code.' The action of the Board was published in the July Quarterly, pages 349-351.

"A meeting of the Finance Committee was held at the office of President Campbell, August 9, 1921, to authorize the payment of certain bills and consider an appeal to the Controlling Board for the transfer of certain funds appropriated for the Society.

"The Finance Committee had a number of informal meetings preparatory to submitting to the Finance Committees of the General Assembly budget requests for the two years commencing July 1, 1921. These requests in printed form were distributed at the last annual meeting of the Society. The requests were presented to the Finance Committees of both branches of the Legislature. A portion of these only were granted. The Legislature refused to appropriate any money for the erection of an addition to the building of the Society and also refused to raise salaries of subordinate employees, ridiculously low, to approximately what is paid for the same work in other departments of the state service. This has necessitated providing necessary additions to these salaries from other sources. No increase was made in the appropriation for books, papers and manuscripts. This leaves the Society as formerly largely dependent upon voluntary contributions for additions to the library.

"The importance of collecting in the library of the Society files of newspapers published in the state is repeated and emphasized. The library cannot perform its function to the state and especially to the State University without substantial additions to original sources of its history.

"Attention is called to the fact that while the Legislature did not make a number of important appropriations requested it did appropriate \$19,300 for which the Society had made no request.

"Honorable C. C. Crabbe introduced a bill in the House of Representatives providing for the publication of the Diaries and Letters of Rutherford B. Hayes. This passed both houses and is now a law. It makes ample provision for publishing these important manuscript papers.

"Within the past year the Secretary visited the Logan Elm Park, Campus Martius, Big Bottom Park, Fort Laurens and Spiegel Grove. He attended a most interesting meeting at the old Campus Martius house — the former home of General Israel Putnam — to accept, for the Society, a bronze tablet with which the Daughters of the American Revolution have marked this house and site as the most historic in Ohio.

"The people of the state should be encouraged more and more to visit places of historic interest now under the custody of the Society. The reports from five of these indicate that within the past year they have been seen by the following number of visitors respectively:

State Museum and Library Building.....	60,000
Fort Ancient.....	15,000
Serpent Mound Park.....	12,600
Logan Elm Park.....	10,000
Spiegel Grove State Park.....	4,500"

The report of the Treasurer was read by Mr. E. F. Wood, as follows:

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE TREASURER OF THE OHIO STATE
ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY FOR
THE YEAR ENDING JUNE 30, 1921.

RECEIPTS.

Cash on hand July 1, 1920 — including special funds.....	\$5,157 09
Life Membership Dues.....	423 00
Active Membership Dues.....	74 00
Refunded by C. B. Galbreath.....	703 36
Books Sold.....	286 76
Subscriptions	23 00
Interest on Permanent Fund.....	945 46
Interest	100 00
World War Memorial Bldg. Fund thru James M. Cox.....	47,440 21
Interest on same.....	1,185 60
Interest on Campus Martius Fund.....	50 00
From State Treasurer on Sundry Appropriations.....	41,201 28
Total Receipts.....	<hr/> \$97,589 76

DISBURSEMENTS.

Personal Service:—

Salaries	\$18,949 98
Wages	100 00

Supplies:—

Office	318 39
Hayes Memorial Building.....	40 20
General Plant.....	166 24

Repairs and Upkeep:—

Main Building at Columbus.....	158 37
Fort Ancient Park.....	250 35

Serpent Mound Park.....	161 58
Logan Elm Park.....	239 05
Big Bottom Park.....	6 00
Water Rent.....	75 64
Light, Heat and Power.....	1,794 78
Express, Freight and Drayage.....	105 20
Expenses of Trustees and Committees.....	457 29
Telephone Service.....	97 95
<i>Contingencies:—</i>	
Auditing	35 00
Premium on Bond.....	15 00
Fallen Timbers Survey, etc.....	75 21
Sundry Expenses.....	75 35
Publications	13,000 00
Field Work.....	499 06
Library Equipment.....	95 91
Museum Equipment.....	747 00
Insurance	25 00
<i>Transfers to:—</i>	
Memorial Building Fund.....	48,625 81
Campus Martius Fund.....	2,200 00
Permanent Fund.....	1,370 00
<hr/>	
Total Disbursements.....	\$93,885 60
Balance on Hand June 30, 1921.....	3,704 16
<hr/>	
	\$97,589 76

The Permanent Fund now amounts to the sum of \$19,880 00.

Respectfully submitted,

E. F. Wood,
Treasurer.

REPORT OF THE AUDITORS.

Mr. Wood then read the report of the Auditors, as follow:

COLUMBUS, OHIO,
August 24, 1921.

MR. C. B. GALBREATH, *Secretary,*
The Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society,
Columbus, Ohio.

DEAR SIR:—

In accordance with the request of Mr. E. F. Wood, Treasurer of your Society, we have made our annual audit of your books of account for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1921, and herewith present our report with schedules supporting same.

July 1, 1920, the balance of the current fund was.....	\$5,157 09
The general cash receipts for the year were.....	\$3,791 18
In addition to this, the World War Memorial Building Fund amounting to.....	47,440 21
was received. The appropriations paid by the Treasurer of State amounted to.....	41,201 28
	<hr/>
making a total of.....	\$92,432 67

Eliminating the World War Memorial Building Fund of.....	\$47,440 21
and interest thereon.....	1,185 60
	<hr/>

	\$48,625 81
The Campus Martius Fund of..	2,200 00
and transfers to the Permanent Fund of	1,370 00
the net disbursements for the year amount to.....	41,689 79
	<hr/>

Making a total expenditure and transfer of.. 93,885 60

This shows an excess of expenditures and transfers over receipts, in the Current Fund of.....	1,452 93
	<hr/>

which reduces the balance in the Current Fund to... \$3,704 16

on June 30, 1921. Further detail of the Cash Receipts and Disbursements will be found on page 3 of this report.

The above balance of the Current Fund is composed of the following:—

Checking Account—Capital City Bank.....	\$1,287 50
Certificate of Deposit:—	
Ohio State Savings Association No. 74627.....	2,000 00
Savings Accounts:—	
Ohio State Savings Association No. 40017.....	516 66
Ohio State Savings Association No. 81700.....	100 00
	<hr/>
	\$3,904 16
Less: Amount Held for Campus Martius Fund.....	200 00
	<hr/>
Total Current Fund as shown above.....	\$3,704 16

Your Permanent Fund is represented by the Ohio State Savings Association Certificate of Deposit No. 3143 for.	\$19,880 00
The balance on July 1, 1920, was.....	18,510 00

An increase for the year of.....	\$1,370 00
----------------------------------	------------

This resulted from:—

Interest on Permanent Fund.....	\$945 46
Life Memberships	423 00
Transfer from Current Funds.....	1 54

Total as above.....	\$1,370 00
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The special funds held are:

The World War Memorial Building Fund, amounting to....	\$18,625 81
Composed of:—	

Certificate of Deposit—Ohio State Savings Association No. 872	\$17,424 69
---	-------------

Certificate of Deposit—Ohio State Savings Association No. 2898	1,185 60
--	----------

Savings Account—Ohio State Savings Association No. 40017	15 52
--	-------

Total as above.....	\$18,625 81
---------------------	-------------

And the Campus Martius Fund amounting to.....	\$2,200 00
Consisting of:—	

Certificate of Deposit—Ohio State Savings Association No. 18056	2,000 00
---	----------

Amount held in Current Fund.....	200 00
----------------------------------	--------

Total as above.....	\$2,200 00
---------------------	------------

The Property Investment, as shown by the Balance Sheet (page 1) is.....	\$569,447 98
---	--------------

The balance July 1, 1920, was.....	568,450 02
------------------------------------	------------

An increase of.....	\$997 96
---------------------	----------

Which is represented by purchases during the year, of:—

Books	\$95 91
-------------	---------

Archæological and Historical Exhibits.....	247 00
--	--------

Library and Museum Equipment.....	540 20
-----------------------------------	--------

Buildings and structures.....	114 85
-------------------------------	--------

Total as above.....	\$997 96
---------------------	----------

Journal entries, covering this increase to the Society's property investment, are found on page 6* of this report and we would suggest that proper ledger accounts be opened and posted with entries submitted with this and our reports of 1918, 1919 and 1920.

Checks drawn against the Current Fund, were examined and the cash balance has been reconciled with the bank balance as shown on page 4.* The Vouchers covering disbursements were also examined and found to be correct. Appropriation balances, as shown by your books, were compared with those as shown by the Auditor of State and were found to agree.

We found the books of account to be in their usual neat and accurate condition.

Respectfully submitted,

W. D. WALL,

Certified Public Accountant.

THE OHIO STATE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL
SOCIETY — BALANCE SHEET AS AT JUNE 30, 1921.

ASSETS.

Cash:

Checking Account	\$1,287 50	
Savings Account	632 18	
	<hr/>	\$1,919 68

Certificates of Deposit:

Current Fund	2,000 00	
Permanent Fund	19,880 00	
Campus Martius Park Fund.....	2,000 00	
World War Memorial Building Fund.....	48,610 29	
	<hr/>	72,490 29

Real Estate:

Land	\$107,640 92	
Buildings and Structures:		
Balance June 30, 1921....	\$186,378 55	
Additions during year....	114 85	186,493 40
	<hr/>	<hr/>
		294,134 32

Equipment and Exhibits:

House Furniture and Fixtures.....	\$32,347 00	
Library and Museum Equipment:		
Balance June 30, 1920....	\$30,883 37	
Additions During Year...	540 20	
	<hr/>	31,423 57

* Page numbers of typewritten report.

Archæological and Historical Ex-
hibits:

Balance June 30, 1920..... 180,050 00

Additions During Year..... 247 00

180,297 00

Books:

Balance June 30, 1920..... 28,800 18

Additions During Year..... 95 91

28,896 09

Paintings 2,000 00

Automobile 350 00

275,313 66

\$643,857 95

CONTRA.

Current Fund — E. F. Wood, Treasurer..... \$3,704 16

Permanent Fund Invested..... 19,880 00

World War Memorial Building Fund Invested..... 48,625 81

Campus Martius Fund Invested..... 2,200 00

Society's Property Investment..... 569,447 98

\$643,857 95THE OHIO STATE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL
SOCIETY — POST CLOSING TRIAL BALANCE AS AT
JUNE 30, 1921.

	<i>Dr.</i>	<i>Cr.</i>
World War Memorial Building Fund.....		\$48,625 81
Campus Martius		2,200 00
State Treasurer	\$1,061 72	
E. F. Wood, Treasurer.....	54,529 97	
Cash		3,704 16
Secretary		120 02
Superintendent of Buildings.....		22 21
Office Supplies .....C-4		2 91
General Plant Supplies.....C-11		8 63
Repairs .....F-1		190 14
Water .....F-3		14 36
Light, Heat and Power.....F-4		167 52
Freight, Express and Drayage.....F-5		67
Traveling Expense .....F-6		1 71
Contingencies .....F-8		15 40
Publications .....F-9		6 48
Field Work .....F-9		1 39
Additions and Betterments.....G-2		49 27

Library Equipment	G-31	461 01
Investments	19,880 00	
Permanent Fund		19,880 00
		<hr/>
	\$75,471 69	\$75,471 69

THE OHIO STATE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL
SOCIETY—STATEMENT OF CASH RECEIPTS AND DIS-
BURSEMENTS FOR YEAR ENDED JUNE 30, 1921.

Balance, July 1, 1920—Current Fund..... \$5,157 09

RECEIPTS.

Life Membership Dues.....	\$423 00	
Active Membership Dues.....	74 00	
Subscriptions	23 00	
Books Sold	286 76	
Interest on Permanent Fund.....	\$925 50	
Interest on Savings Accounts.....	19 96	
Interest on World War Memorial Building Fund	1,185 60	
Interest on Campus Martius Fund..	100 00	
Interest on Current Fund Certificates	50 00	
	<hr/>	2,281 06
Refund on Salary—C. B. Galbreath.....	703 36	
World War Memorial Building Fund.....	47,440 21	
	<hr/>	\$51,231 39
From State Treasurer on Appropriations.....	41,201 28	
	<hr/>	
Total Receipts		\$92,432 67
		<hr/>
		\$97,589 76

DISBURSEMENTS.

Personal Service:

Salaries	\$18,949 98	
Wages	100 00	
	<hr/>	\$19,049 98

Supplies:

Office	\$318 39	
Hayes' Memorial Building.....	40 20	
General Plant	166 21	
	<hr/>	524 83

Repairs and Upkeep:

Museum and Library Building.	\$158 37	
Fort Ancient Park.....	250 35	
Serpent Mound Park.....	161 58	
Logan Elm Park.....	239 05	
Big Bottom	6 00	
	<hr/>	815 35

Insurance	25 00	
Water	75 64	
Light, Heat and Power.....	1,794 78	
Freight, Express and Drayage.....	105 20	
Traveling Expenses	457 29	
Telephones	97 95	

Contingencies:

Bond Premium	\$15 00	
Auditing	35 00	
Telephone and Telegram.....	4 65	
Flowers for Funerals.....	29 30	
Fallen Timbers Survey.....	75 21	
Sundries	41 40	
	<hr/>	200 56

Publications	4,201 24	
Reprinting Publications	13,000 00	
Field Work	499 06	
Library Equipment	95 91	
Museum Collections	197 00	
Museum Equipment	550 00	

Transfers to:

Permanent Fund	\$1,370 00	
World War Memorial Building Fund	48,625 81	
Campus Martius Fund.....	2,200 00	
	<hr/>	52,195 81

Total Disbursements	\$93,885 60
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Balance on hand, June 30, 1921 — Current Fund.....	\$3,704 16
--	------------

THE OHIO STATE ARCHEOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL
SOCIETY — BANK RECONCILIATION AS AT

JUNE 30, 1921.

Balance as per Pass Book dated July 1, 1921, Citizens' Trust and Savings Bank, Capital City Branch.....	\$1,339 01
--	------------

Less Outstanding Checks:

Check No. 2332.....	\$25 00	
Check No. 2333.....	25 00	
Check No. 2334.....	1 54	
		<hr/>
		51 54

Net Amount in Checking Account.....	\$1,287 50
-------------------------------------	------------

Certificates of Deposit:

No. 872—World War Memorial Building Fund	\$47,424 69	
No. 2898—World War Memorial Building Fund	1,185 60	
No. 81056—Campus Martius Park.....	2,000 00	
No. 74627—Current Fund	2,000 00	
		<hr/>
		52,610 29

Savings Accounts:

No. 40017	\$532 18	
No. 81700	100 00	
		<hr/>
		632 18

Total Cash Charged to Treasurer of Society.....	54,529 97
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Less: Special Funds Held:

World War Memorial Building Fund.....	\$48,625 81	
Campus Martius Fund.....	2,200 00	
		<hr/>
		50,825 81

Balance Current Fund as per Cash Account Ledger.....	\$3,704 16
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THE OHIO STATE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL
SOCIETY—STATEMENT OF APPROPRIATIONS FOR
YEAR ENDED JUNE 30, 1921.

<i>Code.</i>	<i>Balance July 1, 1920.</i>	<i>Amount Ap- propriated During Year.</i>
Personal Service:		
A-1. Salaries	\$1,022 21	\$17,895 00
Personal Service:		
A-2. Wages		100 00
C—Supplies:		
C-4. Office Supplies	28 80	300 00
Personal Service:		
C-11. General Plant Supplies.....	17	175 00
F-1. Repairs	56	900 00

F-3.	Water	90 00	
F-4.	Light, Heat and Power.....	62 30	1,900 00
F-5.	Freight, Express and Drayage.....	80 87	150 00
F-6.	Traveling Expenses		150 00
F-7.	Communications		93 00
F-8.	Contingencies	20 47	50 00
F-9.	General Plant Service:		
	Publications	1,207 72	3,000 00
	Explorations and Field Work..	45	500 00
	Reprinting Publications.....	13,000 00	.....

G—Additions and Betterments:

G- 2.	Buildings—Shelter House (Serpent Mound)	143 45	.....
G-31.	Library Equipment	1 21	500 00
G-31.	Museum Equipment	475 00	.....
G-31.	Capital Equipment	142 65	.....
G-32.	Miscellaneous	224 44	.....
		<hr/>	<hr/>
		\$16,410 30	\$25,803 00

<i>Code.</i>	<i>Transfer of Funds.</i>	<i>Total.</i>
Personal Service:		
A-1. Salaries		\$18,917 21
Personal Service:		
A-2. Wages		100 00
C—Supplies:		
C-4. Office Supplies		328 80
C—Supplies:		
C-11. General Plant Supplies.....		175 17
F-1. Repairs		900 56
F-3. Water		90 00
F-4. Light, Heat and Power.....		1,962 30
F-5. Freight, Express and Drayage.....	\$125 00	105 87
F-6. Traveling Expenses	125 00	275 00
F-7. Communications	4 95	97 95
F-8. Contingencies	4 95	65 52
F-9. General Plant Service:		
Publications		4,207 72
Exploration and Field Work...		500 45
Reprinting Publications		13,000 00

G—Additions and Betterments:

G-2. Buildings—Shelter House (Serpent Mound)	143 45
G-31. Library Equipment	501 21
G-31. Museum Equipment	475 00
G-31. Capital Equipment	142 65
G-32. Miscellaneous	224 44
	<hr/>
	\$42,213 30

<i>Code.</i>	<i>Cash Drawn from State Treasurer.</i>	<i>Balance Lapsed.</i>
Personal Service:		
A-1. Salaries	\$18,774 98	.....
Personal Service:		
A-2. Wages	100 00	.....
C—Supplies:		
C-4. Office Supplies	325 89	.....
C—Supplies:		
C-11. General Plant Supplies.....	166 54	.....
F-1. Repairs	710 42	.....
F-3. Water	75 64	.....
F-4. Light, Heat and Power.....	1,794 78	.....
F-5. Freight, Express and Drayage.....	195 20	.....
F-6. Traveling Expenses	273 29	.....
F-7. Communications	97 95	.....
F-8. Contingencies	50 12	.....
F-9. General Plant Service:		
Publications	4,201 24	.....
Exploration and Field Work...	499 06	.....
Reprinting Publications.....	13,000 00	.....

G—Additions and Betterments:

G-2. Buildings—Shelter House (Serpent Mound)	94 18
G-31. Library Equipment	40 20	.....
G-31. Museum Equipment	475 00	.....
G-31. Capital Equipment	142 65	.....
G-32. Miscellaneous	224 44	.....
	<hr/>	
	\$41,151 58	.....

<i>Code.</i>	<i>Total De-</i> <i>ductions.</i>	<i>Balance</i> <i>June 30,</i> <i>1921.</i>
Personal Service:		
A-1. Salaries	\$18,774 98	\$142 23
Personal Service:		
A-2. Wages	100 00	.....
C—Supplies:		
C-1. Office Supplies	325 89	2 91
C—Supplies:		
C-11. General Plant Supplies.....	166 54	8 63
F-1. Repairs	710 42	190 14
F-3. Water	75 64	14 36
F-4. Light, Heat and Power.....	1,794 78	167 52
F-5. Freight, Express and Drayage....	105 20	67
F-6. Traveling Expenses	273 29	1 71
F-7. Communications	97 95	.....
F-8. Contingen-cies	50 12	15 40
F-9. General Plant Service:		
Publications	4,201 24	6 48
Exploration and Field Work...	499 06	1 39
Reprinting Publications.....	13,000 00	.....
G—Additions and Betterments:		
G-2. Buildings—Shelter House (Serpent Mound)	94 18	49 27
G-31. Library Equipment	40 20	461 01
G-31. Museum Equipment	475 00	.....
G-31. Capital Equipment	142 65	.....
G-32. Miscellaneous	224 44	.....
	<hr/>	<hr/>
	\$41,151 58	\$1,061 72

THE OHIO STATE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND HISTORICAL SOCIETY—ADJUSTMENT ENTRIES.

Books	\$95 91	
To Society's Permanent Investment.....		\$95 91
For expenditure made during year and charged to Library Equipment, Ledger page 252:		
Archæological and Historical Exhibit.....	247 00	
To Society's Permanent Investment.....		247 00
For expenditures made during year and charged as follows:		

<i>Ledger Page.</i>	<i>Account.</i>	<i>Amount.</i>	
257	Museum Collections.....	\$197 00	
260	Museum Equipment.....	50 00	
		<hr/>	
		\$247 00	
	Library and Museum Equipment.....	540 20	
	To Society's Permanent Investment.....		540 20
For expenditures made during year and charged as follows:			

<i>Ledger Page.</i>	<i>Account.</i>	<i>Amount.</i>	
190	Supplies—Hayes' Mem. Bldg.	\$40 20	
260	Museum Equipment.....	500 00	
		<hr/>	
		\$540 20	
	Buildings and Structures.....	114 85	
	To Society's Permanent Investment.....		114 85
For expenditures made during year and charged to Logan Elm Repairs—Ledger page 214.			

On motion, duly seconded, the Reports of the Treasurer and Auditor were ordered approved and placed on file.

CURATOR'S REPORT.

The Report of the Curator, Dr. William C. Mills, was as follows:

"An increased interest in the museum has been unmistakably manifest during the year. This is shown principally by the increase in the number of visitors, both locally and from distant parts of Ohio, as well as other states and various countries of Europe.

"The schools of Columbus and near-by towns have been making use of the museum by sending classes to it. Upon their return topics are assigned in history and archæology, fully illustrated in the museum. This brings the pupils to the museum, individually, perhaps several times before, their theme is complete and thus fully establishes the value of the museum as a part of the educational system of the state.

PRESENT CONDITION OF THE MUSEUM.

"From time to time during the year we have been compelled to store, for a short period, a number of collections that have been on exhibition for some years, in order that new collections may be shown. This has proven very unsatisfactory as

many persons are disappointed in not being able to see the specimens previously shown, when they come to the museum.

"Again I wish to call the attention of the Society to the absolute need of an extension to our building, to adequately accommodate the growing collection in every department.

"The repairs upon the building have been more extensive during the past year than in any recent year. The roof had to be entirely gone over with a coat of tar-paint, and other improvements made upon the parapet walls and other parts of the building. This was all done under the direction of the superintendent of the building, Mr. Eaton. During the year the rotunda was given a coat of paint as well as many of the walls in the various rooms of the building which needed attention. This required the spare time of the entire force for approximately two months. The superintendent of the building is now painting the floors in the building. The upper north room in the archæological hall is finished; the south room will be completed next week. The audience room has received a new coat of paint, and the early settler's room and rotunda room will receive similar treatment in due time. It has been the habit of the superintendent to watch where repairs are needed and have them made before any material damage is done, and in this way we are able to keep the building in a fine condition at all times.

"I need only to say that the working force of the museum under my direction is perfectly harmonious in every way and we have no trouble in keeping the building and grounds surrounding the building in good condition.

EXPLORATION WORK OF THE SOCIETY.

"When the facts concerning the explorations by the Society at the Mound City Group were presented to the Finance Committee of the House and Senate, they granted the request of the Society for funds sufficient to carry forward the work at Camp Sherman, and \$2,000 was granted in 1921 and a like sum for 1922.

"We anticipate finishing the work at Camp Sherman as soon as the buildings are removed from some of the small mounds, and when the work of examination is complete and the report written you will fully appreciate what a thorough examination means to the Society. For years we have been laboring under false impression as a result of interpretations by Squier and Davis, after their superficial examination and their report published in *Ancient Monuments of the Mississippi Valley*, 1846. This report was sent broadcast over the country as a public document, and sanctioned by the scientific department of our

government. The Society in its examination of the mounds and village sites is looking for facts which can be revealed only by a thorough examination and in the case of Mound City we find that the interpretation made by Squier and Davis is not borne out by our examination.

"During the latter part of August and the first half of September, I directed Assistant Curator Shetrone to go to Hamilton, Butler county, and examine a burial ground located north of the city a short distance, and situated on what is known as Campbell's Island. Some years ago the Society came into possession of a number of splendid pieces of pottery of unmistakable Arkansas type, purported to have been found in graves dug up from time to time on the island. The examination by our survey did not discover any of the Arkansas type. Dr. Good, a local collector, presented to the Society a very large and fine piece of pottery, and he has in his cabinet several more pieces from this same island, but they represent the large Fort Ancient Culture, and the pottery found by our survey is purely the Fort Ancient Culture. The Campbell Island site did not prove to be a large one, and was soon finished. The survey then made an examination of the Hine mound situated on the farm of Mr. Hine and located five miles south of Hamilton. The mound proved to belong to the Fort Ancient Culture, and several of the skeletons found in the mound had pottery placed with them.

"I consider the field work this year of special importance, first, because of information concerning the great Hopewell Culture at Mound City, and the Fort Ancient Culture at Campbell island and at the Hine mound; and, second, because of the splendid collection of artifacts found at Mound City fully illustrating the handicraft of this culture, the highest in Ohio, and the finding of a number of splendid pieces of pottery fully illustrating the handicraft of the Fort Ancient Culture in Ohio.

"During the year the following collections have been received at the Museum:

ARCHÆOLOGICAL.

"Dr. L. D. Frescoln, Philadelphia, Pa., presented the remains of an Indian which had been placed in a tree, northern Montana.

"Mr. A. C. Spetnagel presented skeleton from Fairgrounds Mound, Chillicothe, Ohio.

"Mr. Lowell Roubush, New Richmond, Ohio, added a number of specimens to his collection in the museum.

"Mr. J. R. Gragg, Bainbridge, Ohio, made three different additions to his collection during the year.

"Mr. S. W. Courtright, Lancaster, Ohio, a collector for many years in his neighborhood near Lancaster, presented his collection to the museum; it consisted of stone axes, pestles, ceremonials, spears and arrow points.

"Mrs. Almer Hegler, of Washington C. H., Ohio, added to the Almer Hegler collection a rare copper spud-axe, and a copper spear found in Fayette county, Ohio, 1882.

"Mr. E. S. Drake, Columbus, Ohio, presented pipes and other specimens from Cherokee, North Carolina.

"Mr. Park Johnston, of Brownsville, Ohio, presented a fine spear point, five and one-quarter inches in length, found on Flint Ridge.

"Dr. Joseph H. Todd, of Wooster, Ohio, presented his entire collection of archæological specimens, found in Wayne county and along the head-waters of the Muskingum river, which represents the result of over sixty years of vigilant collecting. Dr. Todd examined many mounds and village sites, and the collection is rich in fine specimens of axes, celts, banner stones, bird stones, ceremonial axes, hammers, pestles and objects taken from mounds and graves of the region. The collection has not been cataloged, but it will number not far from 25,000 specimens.

"Mr. H. S. Kanmacker, of Peru, South America, but formerly of Columbus, Ohio, presented a number of Peruvian pottery vessels taken from the old Peruvian graves, as well as more than thirty-five pieces of woven fabrics taken from the graves.

HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS.

"Mr. W. A. Harris, of Jamestown, Ohio, presented framed certificate of service to one hundred-day men, Ohio volunteers, signed by Abraham Lincoln, President of the United States; also a Confederate \$20 bill.

"Mrs. Silas Martin, Columbus, presented a painting by Professor Silas Martin, known as 'The Might of the Republic,' also a collection of mounted birds, placed under glass. The mounting was done by Oliver Davey, a noted naturalist and taxidermist of Columbus.

"Mr. David J. Pugh, Columbus, presented relics from the Italian war zone, collected by Mr. Pugh during the World War.

"Mr. William North, Columbus, presented an old Miller musket, made in Meriden, Connecticut, 1864.

"Mr. W. A. Ireland, Columbus, presented an old wooden door-lock, which was presented to him by Patsy O'Brien who

took it from the cabin of his grandfather, William Haines, who lived near Harveysburg, Ohio.

"Mr. J. A. Raynor, Piqua, Ohio, presented a number of pioneer relics from Miami county.

"Mr. D. E. Hollis, Ashtabula, Ohio, presented a fragment of silk flag carried by the 25th O. V. I., Civil War.

"Mr. William A. Marshall, Columbus, deposited his collection of fire-arms, consisting of revolvers, pistols and guns. This collection is of unusual size and interest, containing practically all the early forms of small firearms.

"Mr. Herbert Brooks, Columbus, presented a framed American symbolical engraving, entitled 'Triumph of Liberty,' and dated 'New York, September, 1793.'

"The Ohio State University presented the first automobile in Columbus, used by Campbell Chittenden.

"Mr. C. L. Adkins, Dayton, Ohio, presented a model of a Civil War ram-steamboat, used on the Mississippi river by the United States during the Civil War.

"Miss Betsy Kauffman, Columbus, presented Indian beaded bag, an Eskimo fishing tackle, and Chinese slippers.

"Mr. John Marshall, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, presented pioneer Columbus items, photographs and announcements.

"Mr. C. G. Watson, Columbus, presented a collection of sea mosses from the California coast.

"Miss Lulie Jones, Columbus, sent from Honolulu a box of shells, corals and other natural history objects.

"Mrs. James Osborne, Columbus, presented a number of pioneer relics.

"Lieutenant D. E. Stuber, Columbus, added a number of relics to his collection from overseas.

"Received from the State Auditor's office framed photographs of the State Board of Equalization, 1880, 1881 and 1890; also two war service banners.

"Mr. J. R. Vernon, Salem, Ohio, presented a set of old brass handcuffs, said to be the first used in the Ohio penitentiary.

"Mr. Thomas Kirk, Columbus, presented a dressed doll of an early date.

"Mr. O. D. Brandenburg, Madison, Wisconsin, presented a sword and sash of Captain V. Dornek, Co. K., 15th Ohio Infantry.

"Mrs. L. J. Beauchamp, Hamilton, Ohio, presented an old flute, used in 1716.

"Mr. Eugene Whitmore, Columbus, presented a number of geological specimens.

"Lieutenant O. H. Griffin, 2716 Westerville Road, presented a very large collection of overseas relics, collected by him on the battle fields of France.

"Mr. G. M. Finckel, Columbus, Ohio, presented army biscuits brought from the war zone by Mr. Carl Fishback, Columbus.

"Dr. E. C. Mills added a number of archæological and historical specimens to the collection of his father, the late William B. Mills.

"Mr. H. P. Legg, presented an ox-yoke and spinning wheel, to be added to his already large collection.

"Mr. G. R. Waitley, Worthington, Ohio, presented a number of anthropological and historical specimens, consisting of objects from western Indian battle fields.

"Mr. W. W. Ladd, of Bookwalter, Fayette county, presented a strand of fence wire, twisted together by the cyclone which visited that region in March, 1917.

"I wish to express my deep appreciation to the Trustees for their kind consideration during the past year.

"WM. C. MILLS."

On motion, duly seconded, the report was ordered received and placed on file.

Mr. Galbreath moved, and it was carried, that the chairman of the meeting appoint a committee of three to nominate candidates to fill the vacancies which now exist on the Board of Trustees. The chair appointed Col. Webb C. Hayes and Messrs. Arthur C. Johnson and H. R. McPherson.

Mr. D. J. Ryan, for the

COMMITTEE ON PUBLICATIONS

reported that the manuscript of the first volume of the Diaries and Letters of President Rutherford B. Hayes is in the hands of the printer; the volume is partly in type, and the galleys have been proof read. The editing was done by Professor Charles Richard Williams, of Princeton, who was the biographer of Rutherford B. Hayes. He has taken all the letters and diaries, from 1833 to 1893, edited them, arranged them in regular form, is reading the proof and attending to all the literary work connected with their publication. I can report progress on that matter. Our regular publications are progressing as they have for years. The Secretary is editing the Quarterly and getting it out on time.

The report was accepted and ordered placed on file.

The Committee on the Library had no report to make.

None of the members of the Committee on Historical Sites being now alive, no report was made.

FORT ANCIENT

Prof. B. F. Prince read the report of the Committee on Fort Ancient, as follows:

Two attempts were made during the year to have a meeting of the entire Committee on Fort Ancient at that place, but the members were unable to meet at the time named. The Chairman made a number of visits during the year.

"The grounds are in the usual good condition. The fencing is not in good repair. It has been years since most of it has been built. The time has come now when a larger appropriation of funds must be made for repairs. With the number of visitors that go to the Park daily, the state owes it to itself to have everything in good shape. But this cannot be done unless the funds are adequate to the demands. The fences around the house and barns should be renewed. The visitor should get his first impression of the Fort, by seeing a neatly kept lawn, with all immediate surroundings in first class condition. This cannot be done without an expenditure of means. To get these will require a strong effort on the part of this Society, to impress the Legislature of the state with the amount of funds required for the betterment of its own property at Fort Ancient.

"Another demand which has been presented before, is for the erection of a modest house for the use of the employe of the custodian. Such person should be conveniently near to assist and relieve at times when the custodian must be absent from the Fort.

"Let it be remembered that the days of the horse and carriage have passed and that the auto has made people forty and even sixty miles away visitors, who come with their questions, wants and desires, all of which must receive attention. The Society should bring this matter to the attention of the state authorities.

"The shelter house also needs attention. The floor which was put down twenty-eight years ago is getting in a dilapidated condition, but I think that there is still money enough in the fund to the credit of the Fort to re-lay the floor, which work will be done yet this season.

"The number of persons who visited the Fort during the past year was about 15,000.

Special expenses for the year were as follows:

Re-graveling Road	\$96 00
Lumber	10 20
Roof of House.....	22 88
Lime	6 06
Fence	73 26

\$208 40

“(Signed) B. F. PRINCE.”

The report was ordered received and placed on file.

Professor Prince added that he visited the Fort, accompanied by Representative Charles S. Kay, on last Wednesday. Mr. Kay had never visited the Fort before, and was greatly impressed with its importance and its condition. He expressed the belief that more money should be appropriated by the State to care for this 300 acre park.

SPIEGEL GROVE

Col. Webb C. Hayes read the Report of the Committee on Spiegel Grove, as follows:

“On behalf of the Spiegel Grove Committee I beg leave to submit the following report:

“The twenty-five acres comprising Spiegel Grove State Park was deeded to the State of Ohio for the use and benefit of The Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society on March 30, 1909, with two subsequent deeds. All the remaining real estate in Sandusky County owned on that date by the donor of Spiegel Grove was deeded in trust, on April 3, 1909, to a ‘Trustee for Spiegel Grove,’ with full power to handle, manage, control and sell the same, for the benefit of the Spiegel Grove properties. I was the original Trustee for Spiegel Grove but resigned on leaving for the World War in 1917, and appointed The Union Trust Company of Cleveland as my successor as Trustee for Spiegel Grove. The net proceeds from the sale of real estate \$35,000, is now held in the Spiegel Grove Trust Fund, and there remains unsold real estate in town allotments to the possible value, at current prices when sold, of about \$100,000. The income from the Trust Fund on account of real estate is used toward upkeep, care and maintenance of the Spiegel Grove Park including the Hayes Memorial Library and Museum and the Hayes residence, which is to be maintained as a typical American Home of the last half of the Nineteenth Century, and used for residential purposes only. Any income from the sale of real estate in excess of that required for the maintenance of the

Spiegel Grove properties is to be added to the income received from a fifty thousand dollar endowment fund for the purchase of books for the Hayes Memorial Library. The State of Ohio appropriated \$50,000 toward the erection of a fireproof library building, but \$10,000 of this sum was contributed for the paving of the three city streets on the three sides of the Spiegel Grove State Park. The Memorial Building has cost as it stands today about \$100,000, and an addition in architectural harmony has been arranged for which will double the capacity of the Museum, and have a stack-room capacity of 200,000 books. The estimated cost of \$50,000 has been pledged and the building will be erected just as soon as the city of Fremont fulfills its promises to provide city water for the lakes in the park and the prescribed fire protection to be secured by connecting up the dead ends of water lines, on Buckland Avenue and Hayes Avenue, through the Soldiers' Memorial Parkway, originally dedicated by the Trustee for Spiegel Grove, which was a condition precedent to the beginning of work on the Hayes Memorial Building some ten years ago.

An interesting feature of the proposed stack-room addition is the incorporation within it of a reproduction of the present library room of Dr. Charles Richard Williams of Princeton, New Jersey, the biographer of Rutherford B. Hayes, who is now editing "Sixty Years of Diaries and Letters of President Hayes, 1833-1893," which are soon to be published in the 'Hayes Series' of The Ohio State Archaeological & Historical Society publications. The Hayes series will include the two volumes of Dr. Williams' Life of Rutherford B. Hayes, and perhaps four or five volumes of Diaries and Letters. Dr. Williams has heretofore presented to the Society the plates of the Life of Hayes and is now completing the editing of the Diaries and Letters. Curiously enough, Dr. Williams' library room, which is to be reproduced, was formerly the library room of President Woodrow Wilson during his entire term as Governor of New Jersey and then until his inauguration as President of the United States, and the house itself was erected on property belonging to President Grover Cleveland after his retirement from Washington to Princeton.

"The Spiegel Grove State Park, the Hayes Memorial Library and Museum, and the Hayes Residence have all been kept in fine condition during the absence of the Chairman of the Spiegel Grove Committee while visiting the battlefields of France and Belgium, during which time the Vice Chairman, Mr. Irvin T. Fangboner, of Fremont, gave careful attention and supervision to the property. The only untoward event happening during his temporary absence on business for the day was an attempt by

the Fremont Home Telephone Company and the Ohio Power Company, * * * * *, who succeeded in erecting a line of poles with temporary wires, unattached, however, along the beautiful front of the State Park. Previous attempts were made by these companies, some years ago, but an arrangement was made by which a right of way was given them through property of the Trustee for Spiegel Grove, which answered every purpose of those companies and supplied every patron on Buckland Avenue within the corporate limits of Fremont with telephone and electric connection.

"A special meeting of the Spiegel Grove Committee was called, and after all the members of it, together with our President, had assented thereto, a temporary injunction was applied for and granted, looking to the removal of poles and wires, the committee retained Mr. Harry E. Garn, of Fremont, to draw the petition and the matter has since been formally laid before the Attorney General who will have charge of the case, by President Campbell. * * * It is urged that President Campbell, and Messrs. Ryan and Treadway of the Spiegel Grove Committee, all lawyers, be appointed to help in securing prompt action by the Attorney General, and to represent the Society in this action.

The present General Assembly of Ohio appropriated \$500 for metallic book-shelves and drawers in which the valuable papers belonging to the Society can be stored, and also appropriated \$1200 for a Librarian and Cataloguer. This sum, however, has proved to be insufficient to secure the services of a trained cataloguer, which the quality of the books and manuscripts demand, and it is hoped that an additional sum will be secured.

"During the past year, between four and five thousand visitors have been served, and the present librarian very much desires to have a register for visitors provided by the Society.

"Respectfully submitted,

(Signed) WEBB C. HAYES,
"Chairman Spiegel Grove Committee."

The report, on motion duly carried, was received and placed on file.

LOGAN ELM PARK

Mr. Frank Tallmadge read the report of the Committee on Logan Elm Park, as follows:

"We report an increased number of visitors during the present season, probably reaching ten thousand, if we add to

the registration those who enter the Park and do not take the trouble to write their names in the register.

"We renew our recommendations of last December for the acquisition of additional acreage in the manner as then outlined, the necessity for which has become more apparent. We recommend that no automobiles be allowed north of the cabin and to this end a permanent barricade be placed to prevent the same; that a line be drawn to run from the creek to the west fence at the cabin. This will give space for pedestrians to move about from the tree to the memorials. Otherwise the automobiles stop in the bottom of the wedge (the Park unfortunately being in the shape of the letter 'V'). All visitors should be allowed free access to read the inscriptions. The barricade such as proposed will be more effective than an ever-present custodian. This barricade plan was used two years ago when the Logan Memorial was dedicated and was effective.

"We recommend a third tablet to be placed on the Cresap Memorial to contain the names of additional persons who were present at the Treaty. Our Secretary and Librarian has the names of nine so present, not recorded on the original tablet. Among them, Col. Crawford, Col. Andrew Lewis and others almost as prominent. It has been suggested after the additional names of those present are placed on the glacial rock to have at the Park a reunion of descendants of all those present at the Treaty.

"The roots of the Elm suffer from the tramping of feet of the visitors and have become exposed. The bare places should have a covering of earth. Your attention is called to a recent photograph of the tree which indicates its continued growth and vigor.

"Respectfully submitted,

(Signed) "FRANK TALLMADGE,
"Chairman."

Mr. Tallmadge stated that no complete list of the soldiers and officers present when the Dunmore treaty was made exists. Lord Dunmore had fifteen hundred, and Col. Andrew Lewis had fifteen hundred soldiers. Cornstock had only fifteen hundred and the English but three hundred. That was the reason they desired peace. It is encouraging to discover additional names, because no other list will ever be known. The Indian trail from the Ohio River to the Shawnee villages two miles north of the Logan Elm, ran on the west side of Congo Creek, about fifty feet from the trunk of the Logan Elm. Mr. Sharp, an elderly gentleman who lives within a mile of the Logan Elm, told me

(Tallmadge) that his father had shown him that Indian trail, plainly visible when he was a boy. Of course it had been plowed since, but it should be marked — the people should have the historical facts. This could be placed on the additional tablet our Secretary intends to have placed on the memorial, which will give the additional names mentioned. There is no doubt about the location of the trail, and no doubt concerning its being visible when Mr. Sharp was a boy.

MR. BOOTH: "I wish to make a motion which I think is pertinent to the report just made by Mr. Tallmadge, the Chairman of the Committee. I move that a committee of three be appointed by the Chairman, not to include myself, to consider and report at a future meeting of this Society upon the advisability of securing more land to be added to the present Logan Elm Park, which I believe consists of four and three-tenths acres."

The motion was seconded.

MR. BOOTH: "In support of that motion I would like to say that the Logan Elm is the most historic tree in the United States, west of the Allegheny Mountains. It is probably two hundred and fifty years old, or more; the girth measure, at a considerable distance above the ground, is more than twenty-two feet; the spread of the branches from tip to tip has been variously stated; it is claimed by some who have visited the tree and claim they have taken measurements, to be one hundred and sixty-five feet. I helped measure it about a year ago, with a tape-line, I did not make it quite so large as that. The branches extend in one direction so far that the stock in the adjoining pasture may reach over and clip off the ends of the branches. This should be avoided in the future, if possible. Therefore there should be additional land acquired on the west side of the present acreage, and because of the little stream running about forty feet from the trunk of the tree on the north, or northwest, side, and as the roots of the tree drink from that stream the Park should be extended west and northwest, that we may control the stream for a greater distance. I remember my service on the Board of Trustees of the Ohio State University with Hon. Rutherford B. Hayes — and I hope I will not offend anybody when I say he was not only the most distinguished but most efficient member of that Board of Trustees during its history — and he discussed with me the proposition I am now about to state. It had his approval then, and I am sure would have it now. That is, if that Park is to be worthy of maintenance by the State of Ohio, something should be done similar to what was done to make Mt. Vernon the historic spot it is. In other words, there ought

to be more land, a greater variety of forest growth promoted — trees can be maintained there in honor of great citizens of Ohio. We have a few monuments. We have one great tree. It will eventually die, and are we to leave it then the Logan Elm Park, with a few little monuments, or shall we make it a Logan Elm Park worthy of commemorating the great historic event which gives to it its name? The adoption of my motion will cost nothing in money, it is simply a proposition to put in concrete form what the policy of this Society shall be with reference to Logan Elm Park."

MR. BAREIS: "It is strange there is but one tree."

MR. BOOTH: "Other trees have been planted, but did not thrive — you cannot get trees to thrive on thirty-five dollars a year. I also note that with many times that appropriation available, the trees on the grounds of the State House present a sorry appearance, and that the condition of those trees is a disgrace to the people of the State of Ohio."

The motion for the appointment of the special committee carried. Chairman Bareis stated he would ask President Campbell to appoint the committee later.

SERPENT MOUND

The report of the Committee on Serpent Mound was read by Mr. Cole, as follows:

"The Committee on Serpent Mound Park beg leave to report that the property is in excellent condition. The Custodian, Mr. Guy Wallace, has been diligent and efficient in the care of the Park.

"During the current year 12,600 visitors registered, and the Custodian estimates that the number not registering at 1,000. The large registration is secured by existing conditions. The chief attraction being the Serpent Effigy, a booth has been erected at the entrance of the effigy enclosure, where visitors can conveniently and comfortably register.

"During the year the entrance to the Park has been improved by placing concrete balls on the columns, and indestructible signs bearing the legend 'Serpent Mount Park.'

"A solid concrete wall has been placed under the shelter house and museum, to take the place of the pillars on which, for lack of funds, at the time, the building was placed. All is now substantial and enduring.

"During the year the observation tower, erected to afford an ample view of the Serpent Effigy, has been given a coat of

paint. The barn roof has also been painted; the building and the fences have been whitewashed.

"Paint has been purchased for painting the residence and other buildings at the Park, and as soon as he can conveniently do so, the Custodian will paint the buildings.

"The trees planted in the Park are doing well and soon the plateau, which was under cultivation when the ground was purchased, will be reforested, and will be one of the most beautiful of the State Parks.

"It has been the policy of your Committee in the administration of the Park to increase interest and information concerning the work of the Society, and toward this end the Museum has been established in the Shelter House, which is earnestly commended to the fostering care of the Society.

"To the same end, that of disseminating information, the Committee has prepared some inexpensive but reliable literature for sale at the Park. This literature consists of a map and guide of the Great Serpent Mound, a pamphlet of twenty-five pages; a large folding card, six by fourteen inches, on one side of which is a large cut of the Effigy, and on the reverse side a map of the Park together with historical and descriptive notes of interest to the general reader. During the current year, to meet a growing demand, the Committee has prepared a regular post card of the Effigy containing cut and descriptive matter. This literature is without expense to the Society, it being sold at a price sufficient to cover the cost of printing.

"Of this literature thirteen hundred copies have been sold during the past year.

"The chief object of attraction at the Park is, and always will be, the wonderful, mysterious, thought-provoking Serpent Effigy! There it lies, prone upon the plateau, as it has lain for centuries, puzzling the archæologist, who racks his brain in his efforts to make it give up its secrets, which probably will never be known till that Great Day when 'we shall know as we also are known.'

"Respectfully submitted,

(Signed) "W. H. COLE,
"WM. C. MILLS,
"Committee."

No formal report was made by the Committee on

BIG BOTTOM PARK

but Curator Mills stated he had visited the Park during the fall and found it in splendid condition.

FORT MIAMI, FORT MEIGS AND THE BATTLEFIELD OF
FALLEN TIMBERS

The report of the Committee on Fort Meigs, Fort Miami and the Battlefield of Fallen Timbers, was read by the Secretary.

"The only important action during the past year of your Committee on Fort Miami, Fort Meigs and battle field of Fallen Timbers was the recording and delivery to your Secretary of the deed to a suitable site for a monument marking the battle of Fallen Timbers, and commemorating the achievements of Mad Anthony Wayne, one of the greatest Military Commanders and accomplished diplomats of the early history of our country.

"Your Committee was naturally disappointed to learn that the Board deemed it inopportune to request from the last legislature an appropriation for landscaping and monumenting, which under the terms of the gift of land must be completed within a period of seven (7) years, but we hope for definite action along these lines in the near future.

"In anticipation of such action we have secured and herewith submit for your critical inspection a suggestion for an equestrian statue of General Wayne which may prove acceptable to your Board — a beautiful conception and quite different from the tall, graceful shaft at Fort Meigs, in plain view across the Maumee River.

"In the passing of Dr. Wright, our much esteemed friend and fellow member of this Committee, we have met with a distinct loss. His place will be difficult to fill. His vast fund of historic information and his modest, quiet way of imparting it, were a source of inspiration to the Committee. His pleasing personality made collaboration with him a delightful task. With sorrowing heart we record this slight tribute to his memory.

"Respectfully submitted,

(Signed) "W. J. SHERMAN,
"Chairman."

The report was ordered received and placed on file.

WARREN COUNTY SERPENT MOUND

Professor Cole stated that he was a member of the Warren County Serpent Mound Committee, by appointment some years ago. Dr. Dunham, however, assumed the burden of the work. There is not much to report. The condition of the Serpent Effigy is about the same as it has been for some time. Nothing can be done in the way of securing title to the land, at this time.

The present occupant of the property has a life estate only, but while he lives no deed can be secured. Dr. Dunham has relatives living in the vicinity of the mound, and agreed to keep track of the matter and as soon as the property was for sale to report that fact to the Society.

FORT LAURENS

Col. W. L. Curry read the report of the Committee on Fort Laurens, as follow :

"The Committee appointed to investigate the condition of the land surrounding Fort Laurens, purchased by the state, and to use their influence on behalf of the Society to secure an appropriation for improvement, take pleasure in filing their report.

"It was ascertained that the land purchased by the state is a beautiful tract located on the west bank of the Tuscarawas river, containing twenty-eight and a fraction acres.

"A few years ago the citizens of the village of Bolivar and vicinity erected an arch marking the site of the fort with an inscription giving the date of erection of the fort, the date evacuated, and the date of the purchase of the land by the State. There is also planted on either side of the arch a number of beautiful oak trees.

"When the legislature convened in January, 1921, members of the Committee had a conference with Hon. Oscar M. Hines, member of the Legislature representing Tuscarawas county. As the members of the Committee were very desirous that an appropriation should be made for the improvement of the Park, Mr. Hines introduced a bill asking for an appropriation of \$3,000 for that purpose; the Committee pledged their support in favor of the bill.

"Your Committee then appealed to members of the Society of the Sons of the American Revolution for their influence. A meeting of the Board of Managers was held, and a number of prominent members of the Society took the matter up with members of the Legislature, and the appropriation was made for the full amount requested.

"In conferring with citizens interested, residing near where the fort is located, it was found that they generally were in favor of erecting a substantial fence around the grounds, also building a good boulevard, and planting trees to beautify the park, as the first improvements. It is suggested that these citizens should be consulted by the Committee appointed to superintend the improvements. Your Committee has found in their conference with citizens and officials, that many persons are not familiar

with the history of Fort Laurens. Therefore, a brief synopsis along historical lines may be of interest to many citizens.

"The fort was erected by command of General Washington, and is located in Tuscarawas county, Ohio, about one mile below the village of Bolivar on the west bank of the Tuscarawas river, and was erected in November and December, 1778. General McIntosh superintended the construction, and had under his command 1200 troops of the American army. It was the first fort erected west of the Ohio river during the war of the Revolution, and was named for the President of Congress. When the fort was completed, a garrison of 150 soldiers of the 13th Virginia Infantry was stationed in the fort for defense. During the winter of 1778-1779, they were besieged by a large force of Indians under the renegade, Simon Girty. This little band of brave Americans suffered from intense cold and hunger but held their position against the attacks of the Indians, during all of that winter, with a loss of fourteen by death.

"Respectfully submitted,

(Signed) "W. L. CURRY,
"F. W. TREADWAY,
"Committee."

On motion the report was ordered received and placed on file.

Curator Mills reported that Mr. Kettering, who secured the Great Miamisburg Mound for the Society, is engaged in improving the land, and making a park of it. As soon as this work is finished he expects to turn the property over to the Society. Just how soon this will be done is uncertain, but the property will be in excellent condition when we receive it.

Secretary Galbreath stated that his report as Secretary covered the report of the Committee on Campus Martius.

COMMITTEE ON NECROLOGY.

Curator Mills read the Report of the Committee on Necrology, as follows:

"The committee on necrology regrets to report the following deaths during the year:

"Mr. Lindsay Cremeans, Berlin Cross Roads, Jackson County, Ohio. Mr. Cremeans was a patron of the Society, presenting a fine collection of archæological specimens a number of years ago. His death occurred on the 20th of September, 1917, but we were not notified of this fact until this year.

"Mr. Brainerd B. Thresher, of Dayton, Ohio, died in 1920. He was a collector of archæological material and a life member of the Society.

"Dr. H. A. Thompson, Dayton, Ohio, was a life member, and very active in the early days of the Society. Dr. Thompson was at one time a Trustee of the Society, and very faithful and efficient in his work in its behalf.

"Professor Samuel C. Derby died March 28, 1921. Professor Derby was one of the charter members of the Society; his death leaves Mr. D. H. Gard the only surviving charter member. Professor Derby was very much interested in the general welfare of the Society.

"Professor George Frederick Wright, Oberlin, Ohio, was a life member, past president and president emeritus at the time of his death, April 20, 1921. Professor Wright was deeply interested in every phase of the Society's work. Tributes to his memory were published in the April number of the *QUARTERLY*.

"Mr. B. D. Hills, Rochester, New York, life member, died April 18, 1921. Mr. Hills formerly lived in Columbus, and while here took a deep interest in the Society's welfare.

"Mrs. Alice E. Peters, Columbus, Ohio, a life member, died April 11, 1921.

"Professor George B. Kauffman, life member, died April 28, 1921.

"Miss Anna E. Riordan, life member, Columbus, died May 18, 1921.

"Mr. Aaron A. Ferris, life member, attorney, living at Granville, Ohio, died November 9, 1920.

"Rev. Byron R. Long, Columbus, Ohio, a life member of the Society and a man greatly interested in its work, died August 8, 1921.

"Mr. E. R. Montfort, life member, Cincinnati, died August 12, 1921.

"Mr. Randolph S. Warner, Columbus, life member of the Society, died October 4, 1921.

"Mr. Florian Giaque, life member, Cincinnati, died May 8, 1921.

"Dr. Franklin H. Darby, life member, died August 29, 1921.

(Signed) "WM. C. MILLS."

The Committee on Nominations, by its Chairman, Col. Webb C. Hayes, placed in nomination as Trustees of the Society, for terms which expire in 1924, George F. Bareis, Canal Winchester; Beman G. Dawes and Edwin F. Wood, both of Columbus, Col. Edward Orton, Jr., was nominated to fill the vacancy caused

by the death of President Emeritus George Frederick Wright, which term expires in 1923. On motion of Governor Campbell, the above named members of the Society were duly elected trustees for the terms named.

Col. Webb C. Hayes stated that he desired to recommend the appointment by the President of a committee to supervise the erection of a "World War Annex" to the Museum Building, said annex to be built and paid for from funds now on hand and to be used for the preservation of World War relics now on hand and to be received.

Mr. Wood seconded the recommendation, which was duly carried.

The Committee on World War History made no report, President Campbell stating that he was not aware that he was chairman of that committee, and therefore prepared no report. Col. W. L. Curry, a member of the committee, stated that he is in correspondence with various veterans of the World War, and is endeavoring to have a history of the 166th Ohio Regiment written, that regiment having been originally the 14th Ohio, the old regiment of Col. Curry.

Professor Prince introduced Representative Charles S. Kay of Clark County who made an appreciative and encouraging address. He described with much interest a recent visit to Serpent Mound and urged better appropriations by the General Assembly. Mr. Kay's address was received with manifestations of cordial approval.

FORT AMANDA

Secretary Galbreath reported that Fort Amanda, located near the boundry between Allen and Auglaize counties, is now in the custody of the Society.

Mr. Galbreath spoke as follows:

"The General Assembly appropriated \$2800 to be expended by this Society in improvements at Fort Amanda and the purchase of real estate adjacent thereto. This virtually places another historic site under the control and care of the Society. A monument a few years ago was erected there under the direction of a committee appointed by the Governor. This Society is now to have charge of the monument, site and adjacent property when purchased. Of course it is not necessary to suggest that it will be in order to appoint a committee on Fort Amanda."

MR. RYAN: "I wish to present a matter to the Society. Professor Charles Richard Williams, who wrote the two volume biography of Rutherford B. Hayes, and now has entire charge of the editing of the Diaries and Letters of President Hayes, has been working on the last named publication for two years. This

is entirely a labor of love on his part; he received no compensation either from this Society or Col. Hayes. The work will be one of the most valuable contributions to American political literature since Blaine wrote his *Twenty Years in Congress*. It is going to create a sensation when published. President Hayes came to the Presidency in one of the most trying periods in our history. In his diaries he has written his whole heart feelings on that period. One of the most interesting things in it is the appointment of his cabinet. When Mr. Harding was making up his cabinet I read over this matter of the formation of the cabinet of Hayes. He was here as Governor. He states in his diary on February 17th that he would never consider any recommendation for a membership in the cabinet until it was determined whether he was going to be President. In the meantime he gives the names of men who came to see him and urged this appointment and that appointment but Mr. Hayes refused to consider any appointment until February 26th, when the first vote indicated how the contest was going. Don Cameron of Pennsylvania was one of the great Republican senators, Mr. Blaine was a powerful senator, as was Mr. Morton of Indiana. The great Republican senators undertook to control his nominations for his cabinet. One by one he turned down each of the great Republican senators. This statement is intended to give you an idea of the importance of the work being done at Princeton, N. J. It was important that this work should be done by a man capable of doing it. I do not believe we had a man in Ohio capable of doing it. I think within the next year we will have these diaries and letters ready for publication. I now move, as a matter of appreciation of the work being done by Mr. Williams, that he be made a life member of this Society as a mark of recognition of his literary work in the preparation of the diaries of Rutherford B. Hayes." Carried.

Mr. Claude Meeker, Chairman of the Library Committee, being absent, Mr. Ryan stated that a report would be prepared and submitted at a later date.

On motion of Governor Campbell the Board of Trustees was requested to create a committee on publicity.

Mr. Johnson urged a vigorous campaign to extend the membership and influence of the Society and that its functions be reorganized. He made a motion that the Society refer this matter to the Board of Trustees for such action as it sees fit to take. Mr. Wood seconded the motion which, after thorough discussion, was unanimously carried.

Mr. Walter D. McKinney stated that he is arranging to transfer to the Society the original oil painting of Simon Kenton.

This is the only painting made from life of Kenton and was designed originally for the state of Kentucky. It was painted in 1785 and will be a valuable addition to the portraits now in the possession of the Society.

MR. GALBREATH: "I desire to offer an amendment to the Constitution, as follows:

"*Resolved*, That Section 2, Article III of the Constitution be amended by the addition of the sentence 'Seven members of the Board of Trustees shall constitute a quorum'."

The motion was duly seconded and carried.

Mr. Wood offered the following amendment to the Constitution:

"*Resolved*, That Section 1, Article III of the Constitution be amended by the addition of the following paragraph:

"The Governor of the State of Ohio shall be ex-officio a member of the Board of Trustees of the Society; also the Superintendent of Public Instruction as provided by the "administrative code", approved April 26, 1921."

The amendment was duly carried.

MR. WOOD: "I move that the President and Secretary be requested to send a message to President Harding and to Secretary of State Hughes, on behalf of this Society, expressing the sympathy of the Society with the purposes of the coming conference on limitation of armament, and our earnest hope that the purposes of said conference may be realized in fullest measure."

The motion was duly seconded and carried.

On motion the meeting adjourned.

AFTERNOON SESSION

The afternoon session opened on schedule time. A most interesting and inspiring address was delivered by General J. Warren Keifer, devoted chiefly to reminiscences of the anti-slavery movement and the Civil War. Especially thrilling was his description of the reception, by that part of the army with which he was connected, of the news of the issue of Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation. It is hoped that this address may be available for publication in whole or in part in a future issue of the *QUARTERLY*.

Professor Wilbur H. Siebert, author of the well known and authoritative work, *The Underground Railroad*, read a paper on this subject which held the closest attention of the audience. It is planned to publish this later in the *QUARTERLY*.

The Secretary, Mr. Galbreath, closed the afternoon session with an account of the capture, imprisonment and execution of Edwin Coppoc, who was with John Brown at Harper's Ferry, dwelling particularly on the plan of Cook and Coppoc to escape from jail at Charleston and the story of the coffin of Coppoc which is now in the museum of the Society. This account in ampler form is found elsewhere in the present issue of the *QUARTERLY*.

ANNUAL MEETING OF THE BOARD OF TRUSTEES

SOCIETY BUILDING,

October 12, 1921.

1:30 P. M.

Present: Messrs. James E. Campbell, Daniel J. Ryan, E. F. Wood, George F. Bareis, Webb C. Hayes, W. H. Cole, Arthur C. Johnson and W. O. Thompson.

Mr. C. B. Galbreath, Secretary, Editor and Librarian, and Curator W. C. Mills were also present.

Mr. Wood moved that James E. Campbell act as chairman of the meeting and nominated Mr. Campbell for the position of President of the Society. The motion was unanimously carried.

On motion of Mr. Wood, duly seconded, George F. Bareis was elected First Vice President.

Mr. Bareis nominated Daniel J. Ryan for Second Vice President. Seconded and carried.

On motion of Mr. Ryan, duly seconded, C. B. Galbreath was elected Secretary, Editor and Librarian.

MR. WOOD: "Might it not be well, before we go any further in this organization, to consider the question raised by Mr. Johnson in the meeting this morning?"

Mr. Johnson stated that his motion was that the matter of reorganization be referred to the Board of Trustees for such action as it deemed best.

On motion of Mr. Wood, seconded by Mr. Johnson, it was decided to consider the question of reorganization of the Society's activities.

On motion of Mr. Wood the President was authorized to appoint a committee of three to draw a plan for the reorganization of the Society along lines suggested by Mr. Johnson and present the same at a meeting to be held next week.

After a short discussion it was agreed to hold the meeting to consider the report of the committee on reorganization on Tuesday next, at 2:30 P. M. at the office of Treasurer Wood.

The President appointed Mr. Arthur C. Johnson, Mr. E. F. Wood and Mr. George F. Bareis as the committee to draft the suggested plan.

Mr. E. F. Wood was elected Treasurer, on motion of Mr. Johnson.

Col. Hayes asked that Mr. Alfred Goring be elected caretaker at Spiegel Grove. Mr. Goring was duly elected.

MR. RYAN: "Mr. Williams, at Princeton, has been paying out his own money for proofreading. The manuscript of the Hayes diaries reached him from this point in such bad shape that he had to hire an accurate proofreader. Here are bills for that work, amounting to \$493.15, paid by Charles Richard Williams up to September 30, 1921. We should not permit him to pay this from his own means. I move that these bills be approved and ordered paid out of the general funds of the Society." Seconded by Mr. Bareis. Carried.

MR. WOOD: "The employes of the Society have not been elected. Shall we have the understanding that that will be taken up at the adjourned meeting, and salaries fixed?" By common consent it was so understood.

COL. HAYES: "I came here very anxious, Mr. President, to have a resolution considered by the Trustees, and if they favor it, adopted. This is in reference to a Memorial to the American Soldiers in France. Our kindred society, The American Science and Historical Society, has prepared a resolution, in general terms, requesting the President to appoint a commission to see that the American soldiers in France are properly memorialized, the committee to consist of prominent citizens of the United States. I would like to have the President, Vice Presidents and Secretary, if you will authorize them to do so, prepare such a letter and send it. This is the resolution:

"Resolved, That the President of the United States be requested to appoint an American Memorial Highway Commission to include the American Ambassador to France and the American Ambassador to Belgium, together with nine American citizens distinguished in civil or public life to co-operate with the appropriate authorities in France and Belgium in laying out a memorial highway leading from Paris over the existing French and Belgium highways nearest to the positions held by American divisions in the different sectors during the World War and passing the American military cemeteries in France and Belgium, one on the French highways nearest to the battle fronts between Paris, Chateau-Thierry, and Montfaucon, with an extension around the San Mihiel salient, and thence through Luxemburg on the route pursued to the

Coblenz bridgehead by the American Army of Occupation under the terms of the armistice, and the other from Paris to Chateau-Thierry and thence northerly on the French and Belgium highways nearest to the positions held by the Twenty-seventh and Thirtieth American Divisions in the British sectors, and thence northerly past the American Cemetery at Boni to the positions held by the Thirty-seventh and Ninety-first American Divisions in Belgium, and thence on the line of advance with the Belgium Army under King Albert into Brussels after the armistice. Along these memorial highways simple roster and historical tablets to be erected giving the names of American and allied divisions engaged at the designated points and other simple memorial tablets indicative of the sacrifices and triumphs of the allied forces in the World War, to make the memorial highway interesting and instructive to the 2,000,000 American soldiers and their relatives and descendants who will visit the battlefields in increasing numbers annually to the end of time.'"

On motion of Mr. Bareis the matter was referred to the President, Mr. Ryan and Mr. Wood, with power to act.

Mr. Hayes introduced the following resolution, which was duly adopted:

"Resolved, That immediate steps be taken with the funds now in possession of the Society to begin the erection of a World War Memorial Annex to the society building in memory of the soldiers of Ohio who served in the World War, for the purpose of preserving all records and references, muster rolls, maps, news clippings and papers relating to the World War, particularly Ohio's part therein, in such manner as to make them immediately available to the soldiers of Ohio and for the exhibition of the numerous relics and memorials of that great combat in which Ohio soldiers so worthily participated.

"Be it further resolved, That the trustees of the Ohio State Archæological and Historical Society respectfully invite attention to the manner in which Sandusky county, Ohio, has memorialized her heroic dead of the World War by the construction, through the property of the trustee for Spiegel Grove, of the Soldiers' Memorial Parkway of Sandusky county, consisting of a boulevard 100 feet in width with two rows of buckeye trees, the insignia of the 37th or Ohio Division placed thirty-five feet apart, to which are affixed enameled metallic tree labels, four by eight inches, containing the name, organization, place of death and date of death of each soldier. On either side of the 50-foot lots two 14-foot paved drives have been constructed, while in the center of the parkway an ellipse 60 by 110 feet in diameter has been constructed in which has been planted a mammoth Red Cross in flowers while flower insignias of the Y. M. C. A., the Knights of Columbus, the Salvation Army and the Jewish Welfare have been placed in the four sections of

the Red Cross while a beautiful flagpole occupies the center. In addition to the Soldiers' Memorial Parkway there has been placed on the Hayes' Memorial building in the Spiegel Grove State Park a beautiful tablet containing the names of each soldier of Sandusky county who died in the service of his country. This mode of memorializing Ohio's dead at the county seat of each county is respectfully recommended to each county in Ohio."

After some discussion, without action, in regard to a bill for coal used at Spiegel Grove the Board of Trustees adjourned.



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